

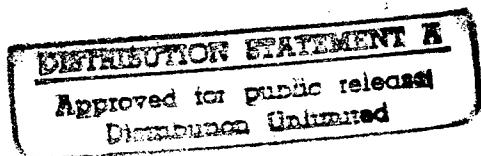
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26 SEPTEMBER 1986

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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CHINA REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUOJI WENTI YANJIU ON ISSUE OF WAR, PEACE TODAY

HK291502 Beijing GUOJI WENTI YANJIU [INTERNATIONAL STUDIES] in Chinese
No 3, 13 Jul 86 pp 1-5

[Article by Li Dai [2621 1468] and Zhou Yang [0719 7122]: "A Brief Discussion on War and Peace Today--Written for the International Year of Peace"--first paragraph published in bold face]

[Text] The tremendous change in postwar international strategic and economic relationships has prevented war from breaking out among developed countries in the West. The great destructive power of nuclear weapons has made the two superpowers unwilling to run the risk of a nuclear war. Behind most local wars lies the scramble between the two superpowers. The possibility of local wars leading to a world war cannot be completely ruled out. Reality is still grim but the growth of factors for peace outstrips that of factors for war. The Third World is a great force for peace. So long as the peoples of all countries in the world keep on the alert and persist in struggle, a new world war can be averted.

The issue of war and peace has a bearing on the fate of the human race. Preventing war and safeguarding peace is a lofty objective that the world's people have been fighting for over a long period of time. This year is the International Year of Peace initiated by the UN. Preventing war and safeguarding peace has all the more attracted people's wide attention.

Although 41 years have passed since the end of World War II, the international situation has always been strained and the danger of the outbreak of a world war has all along existed. In the last 41 years, the world has been continuously beset by the danger of a nuclear war and local wars using conventional weapons have never ceased. According to the data supplied by the UN Secretary General in 1984 on conventional wars, since 1945 there have been more than 150 local or regional wars and armed conflicts and 20 million people have lost their lives in the process. These wars took place mainly in Third World countries and not in developed countries. The rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union has been quite tense, the situation on several occasions becoming so explosive that they were at daggers drawn, but when things came to a show-down both sides just managed to avoid a head-on clash. Yet up to now

a world war has not broken out and the world's people have won 41 years of unresting peace.

How should we approach this historical fact? What impact will it have on the future international strategic situation? Having a clear picture of these problems will be conducive to the appraisal of the question of war and peace in contemporary times.

I.

World War II has brought a significant change in international strategic relations. Prior to the war the Soviet Union was the only socialist country, besieged by capitalist countries. At that time capital imperialist powers scrambled with each other for colonies and spheres of influence and formed two antagonistic blocs, resulting in a world war. After the war, the United States and the Soviet Union became sharply antagonistic to each other and formed two diametrically opposed camps and in the meantime, the world colonialist system was in the process of disintegration. Under these circumstances, with the exception of the United States, other developed countries in the West lost their prewar status as big powers and had to depend on the U.S. nuclear umbrella. In Europe, while its military and economic strength and political influence penetrated into the heart of the continent, the United States occupied Germany and part of Berlin and Austria. In Asia, the American forces exclusively occupied Japan, stationed troops in South Korea, and took over several islands in the Pacific Ocean. The United States built hundreds of military bases in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, Western and Northern Europe, and along the coast of the Mediterranean. With its economic and military strength which was developed during the war, the United States became the leader of the capitalist world and no country in the world was in a position to contend with it. It must also be noticed that after West European capitalist countries and Japan lost their status as big powers and the colonialist system collapsed, the struggle for territorial expansion and the conflict of redividing colonies were basically non-existent among them. The postwar economic development has made Western developed countries more and more interdependent economically. There is a widespread capital infiltration among the developed nations. The volume of their investments among themselves far exceeded that of their previous investments in the colonies and semicolonies. Spurred by transnational corporations, the organized and planned division of labor within the internal departments of large enterprises has been expanded on a world scale. In this situation the interdependence of Western developed nations in the economic sphere has developed unprecedentedly. It is true that the struggle for markets and sources of raw materials and the drives for restriction and counter restriction between them are still intense. However, the mutual capital infiltration among them, on the basis of highly developed specialization in international production, will certainly make them share weal and woe in an interlocking pattern where each owns something in the other's country. Under these circumstances, not one of them dares or is willing to solve their contradictions and

struggles by means of war as was the case in the past but rather tries to effect a readjustment in matters concerning their common interests through talks and consultations. The annual 7-nation summit of the West held since 1975 is a system established to serve this purpose. These international political and economic relations between developed countries in the West make it likely that they will settle their disputes in future by means of peace or negotiation rather than by confrontation or war.

II.

The confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union has all along run through postwar international relations and moreover, played a role in controlling the course of the world situation to a certain extent. In the early postwar years, the United States pursued a policy of aggression and war, vainly attempting to exclusively dominate the world and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries waged resolute struggles against it. Beginning in the 1960's, the United States suffered major setbacks in the Indo-China War and this dollar empire fell from the pinnacle of its development. Having healed the wounds of war, the Soviet Union whose economic construction and science and technology developed fairly rapidly and whose military might markedly improved gradually emerged as the only other superpower capable of contending with the United States. In the 1970's, taking advantage of the situation where the United States was declining in strength, the Soviet Union began expanding its own sphere of influence on a global scale, scrambling with the United States for world hegemony. The Soviet Union interfered with Angola by armed force through the Agency of Cuba, supported mercenary troops in invading Zaire, infiltrated into the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea region to expand its influence, supported Vietnam in invading and occupying Cambodia, and even directly dispatched its troops to occupy Afghanistan. Beginning in the 1980's, the United States rebuilt armaments. The contention between the United States and the Soviet Union is becoming increasingly fierce.

Over the last 40 years, there has always been both grave military and nuclear confrontation in the U.S.-Soviet relations characterized by contention. In the 1948 Berlin crisis, the 1962 Caribbean missile crisis, and the 1973 Middle East crisis, both sides almost came to the brink of war but, reluctant to run the risk of a nuclear war, they finally halted, thus avoiding a head-on clash.

The United States and the Soviet Union have been locked in confrontation for 6 years since the Soviets invaded Afghanistan. Although they resumed U.S.-Soviet summit talks which had been adjourned for as long as 6 years, it neither changed their policies of seeking hegemony and their relations of antagonism nor did it ease up the contention between the two countries in the least--it merely indicated that both sides needed a readjustment in their longstanding tense and frozen relations.

The hegemonism practiced by the two superpowers--the United States and the Soviet Union--is mainly based on military strength. In their rivalry for hegemony, among other things, they scramble for military superiority. The arms race is the concentrated expression of the U.S.-Soviet scramble for military superiority. In the 40 postwar years, the two superpowers have been competing with each other in an arms race more and more seriously, escalating the race at every step. In the early postwar years, the Soviet Union gradually developed and approached the United States in terms of strength from being in an apparently inferior position. In 1972 the United States and the Soviet Union signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) and the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. This indicated that the two countries had achieved a strategic balance of power. In the middle and late 1970's when the United States military contracted after the Indo-China War, the Soviet Union augmented military strength, thus gaining a fairly favorable edge for a time. Beginning in the 1980's, the Reagan Administration energetically rebuilt armaments, thus reversing the trend unfavorable to the United States. In recent years the armament race between the United States and the Soviet Union has extended from land, sea, and air to outer space. In their scramble for military superiority, apart from nuclear superiority, they are also contending with each other for outer space superiority. Reagan advanced his "Strategic Defense Initiative" with a view to gaining a strategic superiority over the Soviet Union before the latter did over the United States. At present the United States has fairly great economic potential and a comparatively high level of comprehensive science and technology. Therefore it will probably hold a slight lead in a new round of the space arms race. However, since the Soviet Union got an early start in manufacturing space weapons, the gap between the two countries in space technology is not big. The result of the arms race between the two superpowers is likely to turn out as before--when the river rises the boat goes up--neither one of them can gain an overwhelming superiority over the other. In other words, a situation characterized by a rough balance of power will be maintained.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union intend to exclusively dominate the world by overwhelming the other but neither of them has the absolute superiority to overpower the other. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have attack capabilities to destroy the earth many times over. In the face of the danger of being dealt a devastating blow in a war, neither of them dares to act rashly. The means of war have reached the stage where the objectives of war cannot be attained in reality. Of course, if the United States or the Soviet Union has a series of really effective strategic defense systems, this "balance of terror" could be upset. Then the objectives of war can again be attained by the use of new means of war.

The continuous postwar local conflicts have two outstanding characteristics: The one is that most local wars erupted in the Third World and the other is that the superpowers had a hand in most of the wars in varying degrees. The historical problems left over from history after many Third World nations won independence, plus their economic problems and unstable political

situations have provided favorable conditions for the United States and the Soviet Union to expand their spheres of influence in the Third World. They energetically carried out infiltration activities and engineered wars behind the scenes in Third World nations and sometimes dispatched troops directly. The characteristics of the continuous small- and medium-scale wars indicate that the scramble between the United States and the Soviet Union is worldwide. They are trying hard to expand their spheres of influence using the methods of piecemeal encroachment and of avoiding a nuclear war and direct confrontation between them. The recent publicity given by American government officials to carrying out low intensity wars is precisely the truthful portrayal of the U.S. intention to carry out local and regional wars. In fact the Soviet Union has done so in the past. However, it has never said so publicly. Of course, we must not completely rule out the possibility of local wars leading to a world war just because local wars have not led to a world war for the past 40 years. Loss of this vigilance is extremely detrimental to safeguarding peace and preventing war.

III.

The catastrophes of two world wars and the lethal power of nuclear weapons have heightened world awareness and the sense of war crisis and encouraged the people to mobilize, thus forming an unprecedentedly great trend of fighting for peace and not war on a global scale and effectively safeguarding peace.

Like people in other countries, the American and Soviet peoples are not willing to live on a powder keg. Although the aspirations of the people cannot directly determine the American and Soviet powerholders' policies, on no account are they without influence and sometimes they play an important role. For instance, the great wave of the American people's opposition to the Vietnamese War played a decisive role in the U.S. government's ultimate ending of the war.

European countries were the main battlefields of two world wars, which caused the European people untold suffering and caused them tremendous loss of lives and property. They desire peaceful construction and a peaceful life and are not willing to be involved in another war and to bear the brunt of the war. The peace movements of the peoples of various West European countries which were surging wave upon wave after World War II have had an impact on the policies of their governments. Although East and West European countries are separately attached to two opposed military blocs, they share more and more common grounds on the issue of war and peace. They widely call for detente and dialogue and are opposed to tension and confrontation and are urging the United States and the Soviet Union to reduce their armaments through negotiations. At present if the Soviet Union launches a war, its Warsaw allies of East European countries will not necessarily follow it. The same is true of the United States' NATO allies in West European countries. Recently when the United States dispatched warplanes to bomb Libya, France and Spain flatly

refused U.S. aircraft permission to fly over their territories. Most of the United States' allies also denounced this U.S. act of aggression. All this constituted a powerful check on the United States. The European countries which want peace and are opposed to war are an important factor for keeping war in check. Since Europe is the strategic focal point and core of the United States and the Soviet Union, the main battlefield of the next world war is very likely to be on that continent as before. Without the support and participation of European countries, neither of the two superpowers dares to rashly launch a war.

The Third World, which is already on the rise, is the main pillar of peace. After World War II, imperialism was seriously weakened and the national liberation movements of colonies developed vigorously. Breaking away from the colonialist rule, large numbers of Asian and African countries won independence. Continuous anti-American storms took place in Latin America. The great majority of these new rising nations are pursuing a nonaligned policy, thus bringing a change in the balance of power in the world arena. They are a great force for peace never before seen in world history. On the one hand, the vast numbers of Third World countries are confronted with the task of developing their economies and building their countries so that they can be prosperous and strong as quickly as possible and on the other, they are faced with the scramble between the United States and the Soviet Union for expansion of their own spheres of influence in the whole world, which poses a direct threat to their independence, sovereignty, and security. Therefore, they want a peaceful international environment. They are the most urgent and resolute in opposing the hegemonist policies of the superpowers and the creation of a tense situation.

Third World countries are waging direct struggles against the hegemonist policies of the United States and the Soviet Union. They have displayed their strength in the struggles of Korea and Vietnam against U.S. aggression, the struggles of Egypt, and Sudan against Soviet domination and intervention, the struggle of the Afghan people to resist the Soviet armed aggression, the neutral and combined antihegemonist struggle of the ASEAN nations, and in the antihegemonist struggles of Latin American countries.

The nonaligned movement emerged in the 1960's is the outcome of [?] imperialist, anticolonialist, and antihegemonist struggles waged by the Third World nations. Unwilling to be involved in the conflicts of confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, they have advocated unity, supporting each other, and taking the road of peace and nonalignment. At present some 100 countries and regions are participating in the nonaligned movement, including most Third World nations. In addition, Third World nations have formed various organizations in different regions and on different issues, such as the Group of 77 Nations, the OAU, the Contadora Group, and the ASEAN, and waged struggles to safeguard their own interests. Now the United States and the Soviet Union have found it more and more difficult to carry out their infiltration and

expansionist activities in Third World countries. This has upset their global strategic deployments, thus giving a powerful check on war.

The role played by the Third World in safeguarding peace is also manifested in the UN, whose purpose is "to preserve international peace and security." With more and more Third World countries which have won independence entering the UN, the UN is playing a more and more important role. Last year marked the 40th anniversary of the founding of the UN. Vast numbers of Third World countries forcefully appealed on the platform of the UN for peace and disarmament and denounced the arms race between the two superpowers and their aggressive and expansionist policies. In 1985 the 40th UN Assembly adopted 66 resolutions on disarmament. Now the UN which has more than 150 member states is more able to express the common desire of the world's people to safeguard peace and promote development than it was in the past. Third World nations have played an important role in this regard.

China is a developing socialist country, a member state of the Third World. Since its founding, New China has consistently been pursuing a peaceful policy and made its own contributions in safeguarding world peace. The Chinese government is pursuing an independent foreign policy and has advocated directing the relations between states with the five principles of peaceful coexistence, exposed and denounced the hegemonism, power politics, and policies of war pursued by the superpower and their acts of aggression in a clear-cut and firm manner, and waged an unremitting struggle against them. China is an important component part of the Third World which safeguards world peace.

China from the first day it became a nuclear power, has declared that under no circumstances will it be the first to use nuclear weapons. Last year on its own initiative it unilaterally reduced the size of its armed forces by one million. In March of this year, at the Chinese People's Conference on Preserving World Peace, Premier Zhao Ziyang made another announcement--that China would carry out no more nuclear tests in the atmosphere.

As a big country, China has always persisted in solving the problems left over from history between itself and related countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and through peaceful negotiations. The border issues between China and most of its neighboring countries have been settled. In accordance with the "one country, two systems" concept, China held friendly talks with Britain and satisfactorily solved the problem of China's recovery of sovereignty over Hong Kong, thus removing a latent explosive point of conflict between the two countries and providing a fresh experience in peacefully settling sophisticated conflicts in the world. With this practice, China has won the wide appreciation of the world community. In the intense and turbulent postwar international situation, China has always served as a reliable and powerful force for peace and played a role in holding war in check.

The Third World has a vast territory covering 65 percent of the world's total territory and a large number of countries which constitute 77 percent of the world's independent states. It has a population of 3 billion people or more, comprising 75 percent of the world's total population. It is an extraordinary force. With the continued development of the economies of Third World countries and the continued strengthening of their national capabilities, as the principal force of opposing war and safeguarding peace, they will play a more prominent role and win the recognition by more and more people in this regard.

IV.

For some time in the past, under the great influence of the world trend of calling for peace and development, there have emerged new tendencies conducive to keeping war in check. They deserve people's close attention.

1. More and more countries have adopted an independent foreign policy and the democratization trend of relations between states is becoming more prominent. Now more and more countries in the world, including the allies of the two superpowers, have adopted an independent foreign policy under the general demand for peace and development and in the light of their own actual conditions and interests and thus no longer take orders from the two superpowers. Therefore, it will be more difficult for the two superpowers to achieve their schemes to control, direct, and "dominate" the world. Although the number of nuclear weapons in their hands is getting bigger and bigger, their followers are getting fewer and fewer. The democratization trend of relations between states is pounding more and more forcefully at power politics which is increasingly on the decline. The contradiction and struggle between these two forces will inevitably decide the world's fate--war or peace. The process of democratizing relations between states is a process of opposing power politics and in fact, also a process of safeguarding peace and holding war in check. The days when two big powers decided the world's fate have gone forever.

2. The trend of the world becoming multipolar from being bipolar is developing. The postwar East-West relations with the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union as the center is the manifestation of bipolarization. In this bipolar world some new factors have emerged in succession. A new world has arisen. Japan has developed into a major capitalist economic power and is making every effort to turn itself into a big political power. The formation and development of the EC has gradually turned Western Europe into a united force independent of the United States. The world is becoming multipolar from being bipolar. Although, at present, the world is basically in a state of bipolarity, because the United States and the Soviet Union are far stronger than any other "pole," yet these newly emerged "poles" are at least functioning as a check on the United States and the Soviet Union in the current international relations.

3. The trend of interdependence of various countries in the world is developing. With the world entering the 1980's and with the rapid development of science and technology and the internalization of production, exchanges in the economic, cultural, social, and other spheres are breaking the bounds of different countries, regardless of social systems. In recent years, the exchanges between Eastern and Western Europe have been increasing day by day and the relations between states are also getting increasingly closer. Under the premise of peace and development, various countries share more common grounds in matters of mutual interest. The trend of interdependence and mutual cooperation between states has eased the hostility and mentality of fear resulting from different ideologies and social systems. The development of this trend will help preserve peace and prevent war.

The above-mentioned trends are continuing to develop. This convincingly indicates that the force of mankind for peace and development is irresistible. The development of the aforesaid trends will display their increasingly important influence and role as a factor in preventing the United States and the Soviet Union from launching a war as a result of the scramble between them for hegemony.

V.

Since the founding of New China, our country's understanding of the question of war and peace has undergone a process of development. China has consistently held that there are two possibilities concerning the outbreak of a world war and efforts should be made to strive for the possibility of peace. However, China stresses different priorities in different historical stages. In the 1950's, Chinese leaders stressed the view that a new world war could be averted through struggles. With the changed security situation in the country and the "leftist" trend of thought gradually raising its head, our leaders placed emphasis on the danger of war.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee reaffirmed the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, integrating theory with reality, and taking reality as the starting point in everything. In accordance with this line and after a sober-minded analysis and long observation of the international situation, China made a new appraisal of the question of war and peace. In recent years, Chinese leaders have stated on many occasions that there is some change in our view of the danger of war, asserting that the factors for checking the outbreak of a new world war have increased; it is entirely possible to prevent the outbreak of a new world war; and there are good prospects for safeguarding world peace. Of course, reality is still grim. The two superpowers are intensifying their contention and the arms race between them has entered a new stage. The factors for the outbreak of war are far from being eliminated. We must not lower our guard and relax our efforts just because a world war has not erupted for 41 years nor must we relax our vigilance just because local wars have not led to a world war to date. However, we

are optimistic about our future, because the factors for peace are growing far more rapidly than those for war. So long as the peoples of all countries in the world maintain vigilance and keep up struggles for the sake of preventing war, peace can be safeguarded and a new world war can be avoided.

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CSO: 4005/977

EASTERN EUROPE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

BULGARIAN PAPER CRITICIZES BUREAUCRACY--Sofia, 18 Aug (XINHUA)--Bulgarian Communist Party newspaper WORKER'S CAUSE today criticized bureaucracy and formalism as major obstacles to economic development. In an editorial, the newspaper called upon party leaders at various levels to work with "new ideas and styles" in an effort to rid themselves of "the shackles of out-dated thinking." Empty talks and meetings created a false impression that work was being done, when in fact it was only diverting attention and orientation, the editorial said. It urged Bulgarians to use their wisdom, creativeness and enthusiasm to realize the tasks set by the 13th National Party Congress last April on accelerating economic development. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0543 GMT 19 Aug 86 OW] /9274

CSO: 4000/343

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CPC'S CURRENT 'DOUBLE HUNDRED' OFFENSIVE STUDIED

Hong Kong CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES] in Chinese Jul 86 pp 16-19

[Article by Lin Wei [2651 5898]: "The CPC Reform Faction's 'Double Hundred' Offensive"]

[Text] Recently the RENMIN RIBAO (Overseas Edition) has carried a large number of articles and reports to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the publication of the "double hundred" (let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend) policy. Obviously the "double hundred" offensive's purpose is not to commemorate for commemoration's sake, but an appeal for support of the "double hundred" policy in close coordination with the theoretical breakthrough the CPC's reform faction is trying to make.

Many "Double Hundred" Articles Published

Raising the curtain on the offensive was Lu Dingyi, director of the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department, who put forward the "double hundred" policy decades ago. On 9 May, he published an article entitled "A Historical Review of 'Letting a Hundred Flowers Blossom and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend.'" After reviewing the circumstances under which the "double hundred" policy was put forward, he said: "In May 1956, at Comrade Guo Moruo's request, I made a report at the Huairan Hall to explain this policy to scientists, writers and artists in Beijing." It seems that this was considered the date of the official publication of the "double hundred" policy. In addition to criticizing Mao Zedong for "in fact stopped implementing" the "double hundred" policy, Lu Dingyi held that the "double hundred" policy "is a good policy which, if seriously implemented, will be immensely beneficial to the country."

Major article on the "double hundred" policy published subsequently include the following:

Wei Liming [7279 7812 2494]: "We Must Uphold the 'Double Hundred' Policy and Allow Normal Literary and Art Criticisms--a Conversation With Writer Wang Meng [3769 5536]" (14 May)

Yu Guangyuan [0060 0342 6678]: "The 30th Anniversary of the Publication of the 'Double Hundred' Policy" (16 May)

Li Ying [0632 0110 1380]: "Contending and Flourishing Economic Thoughts"
(19 May)

XINHUA report: "Qiao Shi [0829 4258] Talks on Development of and Research on the Legal System, Advocates Independent Thinking and Letting a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend" (22 May)

RENMIN RIBAO report on a discussion meeting of some old writers: "The 'Double Hundred' Policy Has Yet To Be Legalized and Institutionalized, People Should Be Encouraged to Boldly Explore and Blaze New Trails" (28 May)

Yu Haocheng [0060 3185 2052]: "The 'Double Hundred' Policy and Legal Guarantee"
(30 May)

Li Kan [2621 0170]: "The Rise and Fall of the 'Double Hundred' Policy and the Flourishing and Fading of Historical Studies" (3 June)

Cai Shangsi [5591 1424 1835]: "No Forbidden Zone in Academic Research" (3 June)

Yang Qun [2799 5028]: "Remarks Irrelevant to the 'Double Hundred' Policy"
(4 June)

Chen Xiaochuan [7115 1420 1557]: "Random Thoughts About the 'Double Hundred' Policy" (5 June)

Chen Daisun [7115 1486 1327]: "Exploring and Blazing New Trails With 'a Hundred Schools of Thought Contending' in the Field of Economic Theories" (6 June)

Du Feijin [2629 7378 6651]: "Also on the Lack of Legal Guarantee for the 'Double Hundred' Policy" (15 June)

The authors of the articles and reports include writers, artists, economists, historians and jurists.

Recollections of the "Double Hundred" Policy

Wei Liming's article was originally carried by the HUA SHENG BAO and was reprinted by the RENMIN RIBAO. During the interview, Wang Meng said, "I like the 'double hundred' policy very much," and added in English, "I enjoy the policy." Obviously Wang Meng was either showing off his English or trying to send a message to foreigners of what he "likes." By Wang Meng's assessment, "The 'double hundred' policy is a matter of life and death. It is the only thing which makes it possible for me to lead an artist's life and pursue my creative work and exploration in art."

Because Mao Zedong used the "double hundred" policy as his "overt scheme" to strike at a large number of the best among China's intelligentsia, many still associate the policy with their own painful experience. Wang Meng, however, is obviously more relaxed about it. When he mentioned that encouraged by the "double hundred" policy, he wrote the "Newly Arrived Young Man at the Organization Department" and ended up being labelled a rightist, he said with

a grin that "a writer does not welcome this kind of criticism. Unless a writer has broken the law, he does not deserve to be subjected to this disciplinary type of criticism."

Wang Meng seemed to be showing off his sense of humor. His relaxed attitude was obviously incongruous with the sufferings of China's intellectuals. At least, Liu Zaifu [0491 0375 1788] was far more dignified and principled than Wang Meng in his reaction today to the criticism against him made by Chen Yong [7115 8673] in the HONGQI journal 30 years ago (he was not labelled a rightist as a "disciplinary sanction").

Yu Guangyuan recalls in his article that when the "double hundred" policy was put forward, he "felt that the party Central Committee was at the time quite determined and fairly thorough in implementing the 'double hundred' policy." Lu Dingyi in his speech not only maintained that "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend is meant to promote freedom to think independently, debate, create and criticize, express or reserve one's opinions in the fields of literature and art and scientific research," but stated clearly that "among the people themselves, there is freedom to disseminate not only materialism but also idealism...and freedom to debate between the two." Measured by this yardstick, even now is not as "liberal" as then. Of course, these "policies" have to be interpreted by the people in power as they please. For example, the "freedom to disseminate idealism" exists "among the people themselves." So, when you want to attach somebody, first put a label on him as a "class enemy," and naturally he will have no "freedom to disseminate idealism." In the end, no one "among the people themselves" will be able to "disseminate idealism."

Call for Academic Democracy

It is interesting to note that when Yu Guangyuan mentioned resistances to the "double hundred" policy, he said that "it may offend the academic authorities, and some people's academic authority is linked to their political authority." Looking around at the people who are in authoritative positions both academically and politically today, the most conspicuous is probably Hu Qiaomu, authority in the CPC's history and member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

Chen Daisun and Li Yining are both professors at the Beijing University College of Economics. Li Yining was Chen Daisun's student in the 1950's. In the past few years, Li seems to have outshone his former teacher, for he has introduced a great deal of modern western economic theories to China to help promote China's economic reform. However, the two probably feel the same way about "letting a hundred schools of thought contend," as they both call for "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" in the field of economics so that our theoretical development will not fall far behind the realities of economic reform. Chen Daisun points out that "economics is an applied field of learning." Li Yining says, "Economic debates often have to be tested by practice over a period of time. This is known as the 'delayed economic test and verification.' Those who do not understand this, but consider themselves authorities and make hasty conclusions, are not doing any good for economic construction or the development of economics itself. Even views proven erroneous by practice should still be

settled through academic discussions, criticisms and self-criticisms." Because Li Yining had suffered from the "anti-rightist struggle" in the 1950's, it is only natural that he is more careful in his choice of words. He says: "The debates between different schools of thought in the field of socialist economic research are not disputes between 'the proletariat and the bourgeoisie' or between 'the Marxist school and the anti-Marxist schools.' All are contributing their painstaking labor to the cause of socialist construction." What he is saying is that since it is socialist economics that is being studied, socialism is the major premise, and the question of "antiparty and antisocialism" simply does not exist.

Cai Shangsi is a professor of the Shanghai Fudan University History Department. The article carried by the RENMIN RIBAO was excerpted from the Shanghai WEN HUI BAO. Cai Shangsi points out frankly that in regard to the "double hundred" policy, there are still some unbroken forbidden zones. There are those who always follow orders of their superiors and dare not express different opinions, those who always follow the books and dogmas and dare not put forward any independent ideas, those who always look up to the "authorities" and dare not raise an objection, and those who always follow the majority and dare not do something unconventional or unorthodox. Cai Shangsi thinks that to thoroughly break the forbidden zones, the key lies in promoting academic democracy, and that to do this, it is necessary to separate academic activities from politics.

The Key Lies in Political Democratization

On the relationship between academics and politics, Jurist Yu Haocheng has his own view. He holds that the fundamental reason that the "double hundred" policy could not be successfully implemented in the past was the lack of political democratization. He says, "To solve this problem, the key lies in developing socialist democracy and achieving real political democratization, not in breaking away from politics or avoiding political interference with academic activities." Says Yu Haocheng, "If we accept the conclusion that the implementation of the 'double hundred' policy must be based on the premise that a clear distinction is made between academic and political questions, it is tantamount to agreeing, or at least giving tacit consent, to the position that only academic, and not political, questions can be discussed... If citizens do not even have the right to express their views on political questions, political questions remain a forbidden zone, and people still have to warn each other to be careful of what they say lest they land themselves in trouble, then how can they be called masters of the country, and wouldn't the much-talked-about 'high degree of democracy' be just idle talk?"

Yu Haocheng is the director of the Qunzhong Publishing House under the Ministry of Public Security. Because of statements he made last year which were "inconsistent with the party Central Committee," he was criticized and almost lost his job. Fortunately he was supported by public opinion abroad, and the ultra-leftists were forced to back off. Naturally he has learned that even after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, it is still possible for people to get into trouble for saying the wrong things, and that the "double hundred" policy has never been really followed, because the people have not really become masters of the country. Whether or not Yu Haocheng will fall into disgrace again for his outspokenness will depend on the balance of forces within the CPC.

More encouraging was what was said by Qiao Shi, secretary of the Political and Legal Commission of the CPC Central Committee (popularly known as the boss of the secret policy), at the second representative meeting of the China Law Society. He said that to promote research in the field of law, it is imperative to continue to implement the "double hundred" policy, encourage seeking truth from facts and independent thinking and promote discussions on different views.

Even as an academic subject, law is regarded in China as the branch of learning with the most clear-cut class stand, because from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, the law is the concentrated expression of the ruling class's will. Therefore, even though Qiao Shi encouraged "creative study and exploration," it is really doubtful how "liberal" it can be under the condition of "adhering to the fundamental principles of Marxism." At least it is beyond doubt that "the party is bigger than the law." As long as any case is tried not on the basis of the law, but on the "instruction" of a party committee or a certain leader or party policy, the "rule of law" will remain out of sight for China.

On the question of rule of law, participants at the discussion meeting of old writers on the "double hundred" policy sponsored by the RENMIN RIBAO pointed out that as one of China's basic national policies, the "double hundred" policy should be written into law and institutionalized, and that we should not rely on rule by men, take our cues from the leaders on what to do and act on their generosity and tolerance. It is funny, however, that the report says in conclusion: "A few years ago, Hu Yaobang made serious, sincere, patient and reasonable criticisms on 'If I Were Real' and other plays, which set an example for the concrete implementation of the 'double hundred' policy and reflected the style and broad-mindedness of a proletarian statesman." Isn't this the "generosity and tolerance" mentioned previously? It seems that as long as the party exercises leadership over the law and so long as the party remains bigger than the law, it is impossible to "legalize and institutionalize" the "double hundred" policy.

"Marxism Cannot Have Absolute Authority Over Everything"

The RENMIN RIBAO is the organ of the CPC Central Committee, and the mouthpiece of the reformers. Its loudly appeals for the "double hundred" policy are, of course, no isolated act. In fact, other departments, newspapers and magazines have responded, setting off a movement to break through and explore.

On 29 May, a discussion meeting on the "double hundred" policy was held by the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Society of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese Writers Association, the Society of Political Science, the China Federation of Economics Organizations and the Dialectics of Nature Society. More than 250 scholars and people of the cultural circles were present. Those who spoke at the meeting expressed their views in the spirit of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend."

Some said that owing to the absence of an environment in which academic freedom is guaranteed, they have to put "other considerations" above the desire to pursue truth.

Some suggested that the "double hundred" policy is really a policy for democracy in the political-ideological sphere, and therefore "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" should include discussion of political issues.

Some went further by suggesting that Marxism cannot have absolute authority over everything in the academic sphere.

The so-called "authority over everything" is actually synonymous to "leadership over everything."

Yu Haocheng and Ma Ding [7456 0002], who had both been criticized in the past year, were among those who spoke at the discussion meeting. Zhu Houze [2612 0624 3419], director, and Wang Daming [3769 1129 2494], deputy director, of the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department, attended the meeting and listened to the opinions.

A youth academic discussion meeting on "reforming and development of China's political system" was also held in Beijing. It merits attention that the meeting was limited to "youth." The reason, it is believed, is that the young people are more liberated and less conventional in thinking, and it was hoped that some bold and original ideas could be brought out through the discussion.

Some questions were indeed boldly discussed at the meeting, for example, the check and balance among China's political organizations, how to harmonize the relationship between state laws and CPC policies, how to accelerate continued economic and political development by conceptual changes, and the possibility of turning the on-going horizontal association of enterprises into a pivot to link up the reform of the political system with the reform of the economic structure.

Earlier on, a "cultural development strategy discussion meeting" was held in Shanghai on 10-14 May, followed by a "spiritual civilization development strategy discussion meeting" in Wuhan. The "cultural development" and "spiritual civilization development" referred to this time were no longer the "five stresses, four beauties and three loves" advocated by Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028], but to break through several thousand years of feudalistic ideological influence and the old ideas and habits of a country that has closed its doors to the outside world for a long period of time to establish new concepts, new ideas and a new culture.

At the Shanghai meeting, some people suggested that political democracy is the fundamental guarantee for cultural development, and that the adaptation of Marxism to China's conditions cannot be substituted by the feudalization of Marxism. They even suggested that Marxism should become one of the subjects to be explored in the study of the many patterns of human society by China's academic and theoretical circles. This viewpoint obviously was to bring Marxism from its divine status down to earth.

The delegates to the Shanghai meeting also asked the CPC Central Committee to let Shanghai have special policies and flexible measures in the cultural field. The CPC has set up several special economic zones. If a few special cultural

zones can also be set up, the combination will be like red flowers and green leaves bringing out the best in each other. This kind of "coordinated development" in opening to the world will have an immeasurable impact on China's growth.

The subjects discussed at the "Shanghai cultural development strategy discussion meeting" have gone beyond the scope of regional cultural development. Some people think that this is another movement to emancipate the mind since the discussions on "practice as the sole criterion of truth." Some people of sharp insight even suggest that this could lead to a new "May 4th Movement."

Of course, at the discussion meetings, some people still clung firmly to "Marxism" and "socialism," but believed that with the vigorous development of a new movement to emancipate the mind, the resulting new culture and new ideas are certainly going to be different from what "Marxism" and "socialism" originally stood for.

Reformers Unhorsed for Lack of Theory

In this tide of mind emancipation, even the relatively conservative GUANGMING RIBAO has shown some changes and published a number of articles for reform. But the HONG QI journal, an organ of the CPC Central Committee, remains a stronghold of the conservatives putting up a desperate struggle.

Not long ago, in view of the scaling down of the reform program since the spring of 1985, some people pointed out that many "reformers were hit by arrows and fell off their horses." Others analyzed that after making their initial move, the reformers ran out of steam and lost their momentum, or were discredited for problems of one kind or another, and one of the important reasons was their lack of a theoretical basis. For example, after meeting with more than 100 enterprise leaders who are determined reformers, Feng Yuzhong [7458 3768 1813], economist and president of Liaoning University, presented his view. He said: There is a lack of systematic theoretical analysis of the many defects of the old system, and a lack of systematic theoretical answers and explanations to such basic questions as why reform is necessary and what must be reformed. As a result, whenever a new situation or problem appears, reform will be resisted by traditional theories, and the reformers will face all kinds of censures and blames. And, those who are accustomed to the old system and old ways will "habitually" use the old ways and methods to suppress and restrict the reformers. Without theoretical weapon or support, the reformers will inevitably find themselves on the defensive. All this shows that old, traditional theories and concepts still hamper people's actions and initiatives. Therefore, in the next step of the reform, much depends on the breaking through of some basic theories and concepts.

This situation has caused the leaders of the reformers to pay greater attention to "theory." Thus, the "Ma Ding incident" has served as the turning point, and the 30th anniversary of the publication of the "double hundred" policy is used as an opportunity to seek for a theoretical breakthrough on a national scale.

In fact, from the Marxist viewpoint, the economic base determined the superstructure, which in turn reacts on the economic base. The CPC's economic

reform has been going on for several years, but politically it is still the old autocratic system, which inevitably will affect and even obstruct the progress of reform. Because of this, it is imperative to carry out democratic reforms in the political field and break through the old conventions of Marxism-Leninism in the theoretical field, which in turn will push the economic reforms forward. Otherwise, the economic reform not only will come to a standstill, but may even retrogress. In fact, some old systems have already been restored, and how can the reformers not "be hit by arrows and fall off their horses?" If the reformers are hit by arrows and fall off their horses one after another, how can the reform program not end up in failure?

The "Double Hundred" Policy Remains a "Leftist" Policy

Finally, it should be pointed out that the passage quoted by Yu Guangyuan from Lu Dingyi's talk at the Huairén Hall on 22 May 1956 is the "rightist" part of it, but the entire talk is filled with "leftist" spirit. We might as well quote some more in order to prevent this old "double hundred" policy from leading today's China onto the wrong road.

Lu Dingyi said: "We must also see that in class society, literary, art and scientific work must become the weapons of class struggle after all.

"This question is more clear in the field of literature and art. There are some obviously harmful things in literature and art. Hu Feng is an example. Some so-called works of literature, for example, 'let's play mahjong, and to hell with state affairs,' 'the moon is rounder in America than in China,' and so forth, are also examples of the harmful things. It is absolutely necessary to treat such poisonous literature and art like flies, mosquitos, rats and sparrows and wipe them out... Therefore, we say, there are literature and art which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and literature and art which serve imperialism, landlords and the bourgeoisie."

Wasn't this murderous tone of Lu Dingyi, threatening to "wipe out," a "hint" to the anti-rightist struggle and the cultural revolution which occurred later?

Lu Dingyi also said that the criticism of Hu Shi was "class struggle," and the criticism of Liang Shuming was something "that must be done." "It is also necessary to criticize the other bourgeois idealist schools of philosophy and the bourgeois society."

We should like to ask, with all these criticisms, how can there be "a hundred flowers blossoming and a hundred schools of thought contending?"

Lu Dingyi's "double hundred" talk also discussed the question of freedom. He said: Politically we must draw a distinction between the enemy and ourselves, and the "double hundred" policy "is freedom among the people themselves." But, "we maintain that the counterrevolutionaries should be allowed no freedom, and that we must exercise dictatorship over the counterrevolutionaries."

Alas, those who freely aired their views in the rectification campaign did not know that they themselves were the rightists, the enemies "over whom dictatorship

must be exercised." They thought that they were the "people" and could follow the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thoughts contend." When they found out that they themselves were the "enemies" and had no "double hundred" freedom, it was too late. They had already fallen in the trap of the "overt scheme."

The CPC's reformers should publish the full text of this talk by Lu Dingyi, and see if the Chinese people will accept this "road of retrogression." Otherwise, it is necessary to give a new interpretation of the "double hundred" policy, that is, to break through the restrictions of the "old double hundred" policy.

At present, the situation appears excellent for a theoretical breakthrough. But, it is hard to say if it is possible to break through the "double hundred" policy itself, and if the offensive can "hit the target every time." The CPC's law governing the pace of reform is to take "two steps forward and one step backward," and it also has the bad habit of rule by men and "one person alone has the say." So, if the man who has the say in the party thinks that the breaking through has gone too far and issues a few instructions, it is bound to have an adverse effect and even cause a retrogression. Then, the spring some think is arriving will "turn cold again after a warm spell" and may even lead to "a settling of accounts after the autumn harvest." If this should happen, we wish that the reformers throughout the country will keep the nation's future in mind, stop the adverse current and forge ahead courageously. Retrogression is harmful to the country, the people and oneself and certainly has no future.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HISTORY, CONCEPT OF 'HARSH CRITICISM' VIEWED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 May 86 p 8

[Article by Yan Xiu [0917 4423]: "'Harsh Criticisms' Should Be Laid To Rest"]

[Text] The phrase "harsh criticism and lenient treatment" was coined during the Yanan rectifications 2 or 3 years after 1942. At that time it was the appropriate attitude toward certain incidents. However after the liberation it was used indiscriminately and was badly abused. Because of an inadequate legal system it became the highest law of the land. The so called "harsh criticism" became most dangerous and, alienated from national law and party discipline, "lenient treatment" became a haven protecting the villains, harboring the lawless and the economic criminals. I suggest that from now on we forget that phrase.

In 1942 the main purpose of party consolidation, or we should say the premise of party consolidation, was to expose and sum up the "leftist" mistakes between 1931-1934, a mistake led by the party Central Committee's Wang Ming [3769 2494]. That mistake led to the loss of almost all of the organizations in the white area and about 90 percent of the revolutionary bases. Back then most comrades within the party did not understand clearly the danger of the "left" let alone those who implemented the "leftist" political line. At that time harsh criticism meant pointing out that that line was not 100 percent Marxist and was basically incorrect, and that in many ways it was entirely wrong and caused great damage to the party and the red army. Was that harsh criticism? It seemed severe but it was the truth and therefore it was seeking truth in facts and not deliberately being "harsh." As for being "lenient", it was lenient at that time because nobody was disciplined by the party, that was because at that time those comrades who committed the "leftist" mistakes were otherwise faithful to the party on other major issues.

Party consolidation is an impressive, correct and great education in political ideology for the newly recruited intellectual party members. They will benefit from the experience. This must be acknowledged first and forever. But if the phrase "harsh criticism" is applied without restraint and pushed to the limit, its scientific nature will be obliterated and its abuses will be appalling. As an example, the intellectual party members who joined the party shortly before and after the War of Resistance Against Japan, especially those who joined at the beginning of the war, went through "ideology self-questioning"

during party rectifications which was in fact "harsh ideological criticism." Very few people managed to escape without suffering some damage. Many were still undergoing the process when the Japanese surrendered and things settled down without being settled. The most problematic at the time was the question of "motive for joining the party." It was almost impossible to give an acceptable answer and many resolved to insult themselves until there was no more revolutionary sentiments left, but still it was unacceptable. Actually over 90 percent of the young intellectuals had a rudimentary consciousness of Marxist ideology; they were driven by the twin ideal of liberating the people and realizing the socialist ideology. They had to overcome a lot of trouble and danger before reaching Yanan and other resistance areas. To say that they had ulterior motives for joining the revolution was ridiculous. In truth this so called "harsh criticism" was actually forcing people to insult themselves. How many people are true opportunists? History has already supplied the answer.

After the liberation we continue to insist on using the phrase and turned it into a ruthless principle of punishment due to an inadequate legal system. If we face reality, the so called "harsh criticism" which we insisted on for the past few decades was in fact an advocacy of false accusations, cruel denunciations and despotism, and was the prelude to the fanaticism later on. It turned academic contentions into an anti-party and anti-socialism political movement; it branded those who advocated that peasants should be allowed a private plot for supplementary production capitalist agents. Other occupations, other circles, other ideologies and theories, arts and culture were not spared. Therefore the so called "harsh criticism" of ideology lost more of its original meaning after the liberation and was turned into "severe judgment": the earlier criticism of the movie "The Story of Wuxun" was like that.

Criticisms must be based on facts and have to be within reason at all times. This is the principle of political life. If we persistently, artificially and repeatedly insist on being "harsh" then we are suggesting openly that we can alienate facts to malign and slander others or even to the extent of destroying others.

As the story went, after the cultural revolution an old party member was allowed in principle to register but only on condition that he acknowledged that the inspiration behind his poem memorializing the recovery of Taiwan by Zheng Chenggong was to urge Chang Kaishek to recapture the mainland and dominate China again. This is totally absurd: the condition for an old party member to retain his membership was to make him admit that he was a hideous enemy of the democratic New China who longed for Taiwan to recapture the mainland and overthrow the communist leadership. The absurdity of "harsh criticism" is revealed to some extent.

I think that from now on any criticism can only advocate seeking truth in facts and a sense of propriety must be maintained. The idea of "harsh criticism" must be stored away at a museum as something which is "leftist", anti-science, and something that is fundamentally against the spirit of seeking truth in facts.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC YOUTH PAPER ON LEGACY OF '18 AUG'

HK020841 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 19 Aug 86 p. 1

[Article by Xu Zhuqing [1776 4376 1987] and Chen Xiaochuan [7115 1420 1557]: "Commemorating Something People Want To Forget--Rethinking the History of 18 August"]

[Excerpts]

I

For young people in China, 18 August 1966 was a day which they can hardly forget.

When people mention the "Cultural Revolution," they certainly mention the "Red Guards"; similarly, when the "Red Guards" are mentioned, "18 August" of the year 1966 must also be mentioned. On that day, hundreds of thousands of fanatical youths gathered in Tiananmen Square. They were beside themselves, waving the "red treasured books," and they were reviewed by the "proletarian headquarters." From then on, the scattered "rebellions" of some young people in various localities rapidly became a raging tide involving millions of young people throughout the country in the organizational form of "Red Guards." If the "Cultural Revolution" before 18 August 1966 was merely some fearful muffled thunder rumbling over China, they after that day, it turned into a violent storm that lashed the Chinese people and threw the whole nation into confusion.

Ten years ago, when the "Cultural Revolution" was over, the younger generation in China had just recovered from fanaticism and fright, and they abhorred this national catastrophe. Five years ago, when the people brought the "gang of four" and Lin Biao's followers to trial, millions of young people shouted from the bottom of their hearts: get back our lost youth from these gangsters condemned by history! Now, it is 20 years since the event which gave rise to the tragedy; the efforts to set aright things in all fields and the economic structural reform have achieved remarkable results which are universally acknowledged; and political and cultural reforms have also been considered and discussed by the party and the people. It is far from enough if we remain at the sentimental stage of abhorring and indignantly denouncing that 10-year-long national disaster. We cannot merely enumerate the sufferings caused by this disastrous event to a large number of people and merely show the scars

left over by this disaster to later generations. It is ever more necessary for us to think in a rational way and to take effective action. We should think: Why did millions of young people so resolutely throw themselves into the depths of that fanatical raging tide after 18 August 1966? What should we do today in order to eliminate the soil which gave rise to that tragedy?

II

The tragedy of the Chinese youth influenced by the event on 18 August 1966 was that they cherished a sincere belief, a good desire, and great enthusiasm and threw themselves into a fanatical tide which pushed the nation into a quagmire and also ruined their own youth. What, then, caused this tragedy?

Did people blindly follow the leader's mistakes because of his high prestige? It was true that Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant thought and contributions during a long period of revolution and practical construction won for him high esteem and love among the people, especially among the young. However, esteeming and loving a leader is something essentially different from practicing the cult of this person and blindly following him. What made the young people in those years turn their esteem and love of Comrade Mao Zedong into a kind of personality cult and blindly follow his erroneous judgments and decisions?

Did Lin Biao and the "gang of four" deceive and confuse those young people by means of demagogic? It was true that the conspiracies of these careerists in the "cultural revolution" deceived many naive youths, and now they have been permanently nailed on history's pillar of disgrace. However, as Marx pointed out when commenting on the coup d'etat of Louis Bonaparte, "It is not enough to say that the French people were raided, it is also necessary to explain why a nation of 36 million people could be totally confused by three immaculately dressed swindlers and fall captive without any resistance." Similarly, we should also ask: How could Lin Biao and the "gang of four," a group of "immaculately dressed swindlers," make fools of so many young people at will?

Was this because the young people were naive and ignorant? It was true that most young people were politically immature and were apt to go to extremes in their thinking. However, the younger generation growing up in a socialist society even regarded something which completely went against socialism as their golden rule and precious precept and criticized many basic principles of scientific socialism as capitalist things. Can this merely be attributed to their extreme thinking?

People's actions are always controlled by their thoughts. Only by ascertaining the thoughts and mentalities which guided the "Red Guards" to take their fanatical actions and the sociohistorical environment which bred these thoughts and mentalities can we find the root cause of the tragedy of the young people in the "Cultural Revolution."

In the "Cultural Revolution," the slogans shouted most resoundingly by the "Red Guards" were the "three loyalties" and the "four boundless things" and the songs they sang most frequently were "Sailing the Seas We Rely on the Helmsman" and "He Is the People's Great Savior." This precisely reflected feudal "foolish loyalty" and the concept of pinning all hopes on a "supreme authority." Under the slogans of "opposing and preventing revisionism" and "sweeping away all monsters and demons," they cruelly treated cadres, intellectuals, and ordinary people by holding public meetings to criticize and denounce them, ransacking their houses, confiscating their property, extorting their confessions by torture, and even acting with utter disregard for their lives. This precisely reflected the "mentality of regarding the people as grass" and disregarding and trampling on the people's basic democratic rights. They believed that "everything is determined by the line struggle" and they distinguished lines in light of the representative people, holding that so long as the leader of a "rebels'" organization represented a "correct line," he must also be obeyed absolutely. This precisely reflected the vassal mentality which obliterated people's independent and individual consciousness. The thing they were most proud of was a family background of the "five red categories," and they even openly advocated that "a hero father will certainly give birth to a good son, and a reactionary father will certainly give birth to a scoundrel." This precisely reflected the feudal patriarchal mentality and the concept of blood ties. All these facts showed that although the "Red Guards" always recited words of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought during the "Cultural Revolution," the ideas in their minds that guided their actions were mainly feudalist ideology which had taken root in people's hearts for thousands of years.

How should we view the "Red Guards" movement which started on 18 August 1966? Should we blame all its crimes on the young people in those days? No, this is not fair, because it was impossible for them to make a choice and to reject the sociohistorical environment they faced and our nation's traditional culture which cultivated their ways of thought and habits of behavior.

III

China's traditional culture which was formed in the past thousands of years is full of feudalist and autocratic things which had been developed to a perfect degree, but very few things representing the idea of democracy and rule by law. However, we have not thoroughly broken with the feudalist ideology and culture. As Lu Xun said with deep feeling, the revolution in 1911 only cut a pigtail. The mighty "May 4th Movement" raised the slogan of democracy and science and held high the banner of anti-imperialism and antifeudalism and made indelible contributions, but it did not really shake the foundation of the traditional feudal culture. Thus, our new democratic revolution unavoidably bore heavy historical burdens. Under the leadership of the CPC, the revolutionary ranks with peasants as the main body, cherishing the strong desire for liberating themselves politically and economically and cherishing the ideal of building communist society in which there is no oppression and exploitation,

successfully destroyed the old feudalist regime and the landlord ownership system, but they did not completely free themselves from the shackles of the feudalist ideology and culture. When we strode into the period of socialism, there was still the poor soil of the natural economy under our feet and the thick atmosphere of feudalism and ignorance still surrounded us.

Under such national conditions, we had to thoroughly eliminate the influence of feudalist ideology. However, we did not fully realize the serious harmfulness of the feudalist ideology and culture to the socialist cause for a long time, and did not take resolute action to deal with it. On the contrary, we sometimes even treated such outworn and backward concepts as small peasants' egalitarian ideas as socialist things and advocated them in a big way. At the same time, we exaggerated the danger of the so-called "capitalist restoration" and negated some basic concepts of socialism in the course of criticizing capitalist ideology. For example, when exposing the hypocrisy of democracy, freedom, and egalitarianism advocated by the bourgeoisie, we did not acknowledge that these things themselves represent the achievements of human civilization that should be shared by all mankind. When educating the younger generation, we seldom mentioned "independent thinking," democratic consciousness, and the individual's free development; instead, we stressed such feudal slogans as "acting as a tamed tool."

Under such national conditions, we must establish a series of systems to guarantee the people's democratic rights. Democracy is the most powerful weapon against feudalist ideology, and only democracy can arouse the people's enthusiasm and initiative for creating their new lives. However, China's highly centralized economic and political structures had drawbacks, although they did play a positive role under certain historical conditions. In these structures, power over the whole social life was excessively concentrated in the hands of a very small number of leaders, and there was no effective supervision of the use of such power. These structures were not favorable to the development of socialist democracy and to the strengthening of democratic consciousness.

Under such national conditions, we had to concentrate all our strength on developing our productive forces so as to change our country's poor and backward conditions as quickly as possible. In this regard, we indeed made great achievements which were universally acknowledged. However, "leftist" ideology and the unending string of political movements, coupled with various defects in our economic and political structures, hindered us from fully exploiting the superiority of the socialist system. As a result, our national economy was confined in a closed state for a long time. In particular, the economies in the broad countryside which is inhabited by 80 percent of our population remained a self-supporting and natural type. All this provided a material foundation for the continuing existence and growth of the feudalist ideology.

The results of this were: Before the "Cultural Revolution" broke out, many feudalist ideas and concepts remained in the people's minds and deeply affected their political viewpoints, ways of thought, habits of behavior, and psychological characteristics. In a land which lacked the concept of democracy, how could the big tree of scientific socialism take root? Therefore, when a catastrophe suddenly befell our country, the general public and young people, as well as many tried leading cadres, could not keep their bearings and were all in a fluster, because they did not hold socialist democracy, the only weapon which could resist and prevent this disaster, in their hands, and they did not even realize this point at all.

IV

With the events of 18 August 1966 20 years in the past, the new generation China is facing a completely different sociohistorical environment. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, an unprecedented large-scale reform tide has surged on the vast land of China. The adoption of the output-related contract responsibility system and the readjustment of the rural production structure has freed our agriculture from the trammels of the small production mode and has enabled it to advance toward becoming market-oriented, specialized, and socialized. The umbilical cord which bred feudalist ideology and the small peasant mentality has been cut. The economic structural reforms focused on cities are turning our one-sided and rigid planned economy into a planned commodity economy, and our closed economy has been opened to the outside world. The profound changes which have occurred and are developing in depth in the economic field inevitably require that corresponding changes be made in the superstructure and the ideological field. Therefore, people's attention has been drawn to such issues as carrying out political structural reform, strengthening socialist democracy, building a sound legal system, advancing the process of political democracy, profoundly reflecting on our nation's traditional culture, thoroughly breaking with the feudalist ideology and culture, absorbing all achievements of the world's culture so as to build socialist new culture which is suited to our modernization construction, and all this has become a target for our struggle. To implement comprehensive reforms and the open policy, we will traverse a path beset with difficulties; at the same time, this path will not only thoroughly erase the "Cultural Revolution" from people's minds, but will also lead China to a splendid future and realization of socialist modernization.

The times are calling on the younger generation to actively join the comprehensive economic, political, and cultural reforms. It is a gratifying fact that our young people today live up to the hopes pinned on them by history, and more and more outstanding young people are now taking the lead in reform. In both the cities and the countryside, many young people in all walks of life have achieved remarkable results in the reform practice of breaking through the old structure. In the theoretical and cultural circles, a number of young theoretical workers have cut a fine figure. They are full of vigor and courage, and have put forth many original theories and opinions full of the spirit of the

times. These brave young explorers are making unremitting efforts to open the new path for reform in the theoretical and practical fields regardless of the difficulties and obstacles. As representatives of today's young people, their spirit, creativity, and enthusiasm are inspiring and encouraging all young people to work hard for the development of the all-round reforms and the success of modernization. Therefore, when we reflect on the history which gave rise to the "18 August" tragedy of the young people 20 years ago, we may proudly say that the new younger generation today in China will no longer merely lament over the painful past but are marching vigorously ahead with spirited singing.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHEN BINGGUAN ARTICLE ON STRENGTHENING IDEOLOGICAL WORK

HK250758 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by Chen Bingguan: "Strengthen Ideological and Political Work Among Workers, Serve the Building of Socialism With Chinese Characteristics--Speech at the Meeting on Ideological and Political Work Among Workers Held by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions"]

[Text] Recently, on the basis of an investigation of the conditions of the ranks of workers, the Secretariat of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions studied the problem of how trade unions improve and strengthen ideological and political work among workers given the reform situation. Based on the views discussed by the Secretariat, let me discuss a few points in the hope of studying them with comrades.

I. The Situation Facing Ideological and Political Work Among Workers

Since the "9th Congress" of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, trade unions at various levels, under the unified leadership of the party committee, have acted in coordination with various quarters and done a large amount of work as far as ideological and political work among workers is concerned. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, focusing on urban and economic reforms, we have given wide publicity to the party's main tasks and goals and its series of general and specific policies among workers, and have conducted ideological and political education.

The main trend among the ranks of workers at present is favorable. It is one of support for reform and action to get ahead. With the deepening of the reform, especially the development of the socialist commodity economy, workers' ideological concepts and their state of mind are undergoing changes. There is gradual strengthening of the concepts about efficiency, results, competitiveness, and a down-to-earth approach, the concepts about respect for knowledge and for talent, and the concept of "I thrive if the factory thrives and I languish if the factory languishes" and casting in a person's lot with a given enterprise as its master. The masses of workers, especially young ones, have shown ever mounting enthusiasm to get ahead and seek knowledge. All this shows that our

ranks of workers are entirely trustworthy. They are worthy of being the representatives of advanced production relations and advanced productive forces. They are a strong force in reform and construction.

Today, reform has become an irresistible trend. Reform involves the economic, political, cultural, and various other aspects of society. It is a profound social reform. Reform has dealt a big blow to backward ways and has been a great impetus to our learning the art of modern management and raising productivity and to the betterment of the quality of the whole working class. But China has several thousand years of feudal traditions and habits of small production behind it. The influence is deep-rooted. Especially in the more than 30 years of following a rigid economic system, such things as egalitarianism, clinging to "an iron rice bowl," sharing in "the big pot," the permanent freezing of commodity prices, and so forth were regarded as the superior features of socialism. These erroneous concepts cannot be easily removed from people's minds. Given today's bid for liveliness, such bourgeois ideas as harming others to benefit oneself, being blinded by the love of gain, and putting money above everything else also take advantage of loopholes to invade the ranks of workers. Therefore, in the process of reform, not only will there appear contradictions and clashes with the new system taking the place of the old but a situation will form of new and old ideas or concepts being interlocked, clashing with each other and waxing and waning by turns. This makes it necessary for us to educate the masses of workers through highly effective ideological and political work, so that they can withstand the tremendous impact of this reform, absorb the jolting effects and bear the pain of marching forward along the broad path to reform without a hitch. This is a serious problem facing trade union organizations at all levels.

The problem now is that our ideological and political work among workers has fallen far behind the pace of reform and is incompatible with the demands of the objective situation. This can be seen in our ideas and concepts being incompatible with reform and falling behind the situation and behind those of the masses. Second, our ideological style does not agree with the changing new situation. Third, methods involving ideological and political work are mostly backward. We are still in the habit of giving lectures while others listen and imposing what is said on others in a simple and arbitrary way. Fourth, theory and policy studies fall behind the development of the situation. Therefore, in the new situation of the vigorous development of the reform in various fields and the unprecedentedly active thinking of workers, we must show a great sense of responsibility and a sense of being charged with a mission in an effort to catch up with the developing situation of reform. Under unified party leadership, we must improve and strengthen ideological and political work among workers and give full play to the role of trade unions in improving the quality of workers.

II. Current Guiding Ideas for Ideological and Political Work Among Workers and Relevant Basic Demands

The basic aim of ideological and political work among workers is to train a force of workers who have ideals, moral consciousness, a sense of discipline, and a cultural level, and to create a generation of new socialist people to serve the great goal of building a highly civilized and highly democratic, powerful, modern, socialist country. Now we are in a critical period of an overall reform of the economic system, the political system, and the cultural system. Ideological and political work among workers must meet the demands of this situation, serving the revolution, the development of productivity, the effort to stimulate the development of the socialist commodity economy, and the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. This is our main guiding idea.

The main demands of ideological and political work at present are:

1) We must further arouse the enthusiasm and creativity of the masses of workers as the masters, consciously overcome the influence of traditional concepts and habits, actively plunge into and take part in reform, and direct unity of thought and action to the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. 2) In the process of creating a new socialist economic system full of life and vitality, in line with the demands of the development of the socialist commodity economy and social progress, we must train workers so that they can develop in themselves concepts of efficiency, results, discipline, civilization, and respect for knowledge, and display the spirit of actively fighting for progress and blazing trails to get ahead. 3) We must establish relations of unity, mutual help, and friendliness among the ranks of workers and create a democratic, harmonious, and relaxed social environment providing favorable social political conditions for reform and construction.

To realize these demands, we must have a clear idea about the following several problems:

First, in doing ideological and political work, we must firmly uphold the principle of proceeding from reality and linking theory with practice. We must combine great ideals with the objectives of struggle in real life and express this through current practice in modernization and reform. Among the ranks of workers, communist ideals are established earlier in some cases and later in others, with many levels involved. Ideological and political work must be done in light of different targets involved and with different conditions in mind. We must avoid following the beaten track and applying the same fixed standard to every case. All ideas and acts that contribute to the stimulation of reform and the prosperity of the country and the people should be respected, protected, and supported. In our approach to ideological and political work, we must seek truth from facts, speak the truth, and refrain from telling lies, talking big, making empty talk, and practicing formalism. Ideological and political work must also be combined with the solution of workers' actual problems, a show of concern for mass woes, and the rendering of help to the masses in overcoming actual difficulties.

Second, ideological and political work must be closely combined with economic work. This demands that we achieve the following: Ideological and political work must focus on modernization. Ideological and political work must permeate economic and vocational work, overcoming the phenomenon of their being divorced. Ideological and political education must be linked with the principle of upholding material interests. In the socialist period, labor is still a means that people rely upon to make a living. The principle on material interests is a fundamental principle that must be observed in not only economic work but also in ideological and political work. We must stress the correct handling of the relations of interests among the state, the collective, and individual workers. But we must respect workers' proper demands about material interests and encourage everyone to work hard to get rich and rely on his own arduous efforts to achieve prosperity.

Third, we must enrich workers' spiritual lives and train and create a generation of new people developed in all fields. The overall development of individuals is a mark of social progress. The socialist system holds out beautiful prospects for the overall development of individuals. With the development of social productivity and an improvement in conditions for material life, the masses of workers' demands for spiritual life have become increasingly exacting. Our ideological and political work must break away from narrow concepts long formed. There must be a change in the situation of contents being stereotyped and forms being fixed. We must greatly widen our horizon and open up areas of work to create a vast world for ideological and political work. We must pay great attention to the improvement of the cultural level of workers and be good at enriching people's spiritual life through cultural recreation, sports, social, and other healthy activities that people like. The aim is to add to a person's knowledge, mold his temperament, raise his cultural standard and moral level, develop a healthy mode of living on his part, and train him so he is developed in all fields.

Fourth, in handling people-related work, we must show respect for the people concerned. Under the socialist system, the relations between people should be those of equality and mutual help and should be comradely. The relationship between people in charge of ideological and political work and their work targets is also one of the former serving the latter. In doing ideological and political work, we must be democratic and refrain from throwing our weight around, imposing on others what we say, and insisting on others listening to us. We must treat others on an equal footing, befriend the masses, exchange confidences with them, provide enlightenment and guidance, and persuade others by reasoning things out. In doing ideological and political work, we must also set personal examples, set strict demands on ourselves, and pay equal attention to words and deeds in teaching others. It is normal for people to constantly have differing views in the matter of awareness. In doing people-related work, we must respect relevant people's will and feelings. Every worker is "an individual with his own character." "Every man's freedom of development is a condition for the free development of all men." We

must uphold a socialist collectivist spirit. But this does not mean ignoring individual character. Instead, we must fully rely on activists among the masses, rely on the masses to create experiences in carrying out reforms, let people with ideals dwell on ideals and law-abiding people dwell in discipline, and rely on those advanced typical examples embodying the spirit of the era to influence and educate ourselves. This is to strengthen the results and might of ideological and political work.

Fifth, we must promote fine traditions and cultivate in workers a sense of vocational pride with love for the enterprise and for the job, a sense of responsibility, and a moral attitude. Reform has shattered the set pattern that originally existed and has closely linked the state's future, an enterprise's destiny, and an individual's development. To do ideological and political work is to guide the masses of workers' pursuit of ideals, their responsibility toward society, their expectations of a rich and powerful country and a revitalized nation, and the redemption of an individual's social worth in the direction of passionate love for a given career and the tasks of a given job. We should gradually enable every enterprise to develop an enterprise spirit of a unique style and every occupation to cultivate business ethics characteristic of a given trade. We must energetically try to rectify unhealthy practices in a given trade and enable the whole country to develop cherished moral values and healthy social practices.

Sixth, the strengthening of training and education for young workers is still the focus of ideological and political work among workers. The masses of young workers are a main force in revitalizing the economy in the 1990's and they shoulder a historical mission that goes beyond this century. We must show great concern for their growth. Young people have many strong points but also various weaknesses and inadequacies. We must give them education about great ideals and the revolutionary philosophy of life. We must also respect their independent thinking and exploratory spirit and show concern for such proper demands on their part as active striving to get ahead politically, achievements in a given career, and the pursuit of a beautiful life.

Seventh, we must make the most of mass media and use modern means to carry out ideological and political work. We must change the previous means of propaganda and education that is confined to the practice of talking face to face and the handling of things after the fashion of a handicraft industry. We must make the fullest use of such means as movies, television sets, tape recorders, videotape recorders, newspapers, magazines, and so forth, and link the contents of ideological education with modern means in a perfect manner, creating a new world for ideological and political work.

III. Give Full Play to the Superior Features of a Trade Union and Create a New Situation in Ideological and Political Work Among Workers

Ideological and political work among workers is the whole party's task and is a systematic job involving the whole community. It calls for simultaneous action by party, government, trade union, and mass organizations. Ideological and political work among the workers of trade unions is an important part of party ideological and political work. Under the new situation, ideological and political work among workers has increasingly developed along the mass, democratic, and social lines, with many levels involved. The work load shouldered by the trade union has become increasingly heavy. Under unified party leadership, we should act in coordination with various quarters, give full play to our own strong points, and take the initiative to strengthen work in this respect.

1. We must put the proper handling of ideological and political work among workers on the work schedule of the trade union as an important item. The economic reform and the accompanying political reform have greatly strengthened the place and role of the trade union in state life and social life. Various trade union activities encompass educating and training workers and improving the quality of the ranks of workers. All trade union cadres and trade union activists must learn how to do ideological and political work. Various trade unions must put ideological and political work among workers in an important place and let it permeate various activities such as democratic management, labor emulation, the building of "workers' homes," and so forth.
2. We must put the emphasis on education in four areas. First, we must educate about fundamental theories and fundamental policies on the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. We must bring workers' thinking in line with the reform situation and enable everyone to be prepared for various reforms ideologically and mentally. Apart from publicizing the party's general and specific policies before and after the start of every reform and conducting penetrating and conscientious ideological and political education, we must carry out relatively systematic education on fundamental theories and fundamental policies about reform, especially on the development of the socialist commodity economy.
- Second, we must conduct education about socialist democracy and the legal system. Perfecting socialist democracy and the legal system is an important part of the political reform. The aim is to enable cadres and workers to study law, have an idea of the law, obey the law, and be models in observing laws and discipline. We must also guarantee the democratic rights of workers in a practical way.
- Third, we must conduct education about business ethics and occupational discipline. We must educate workers so that they can foster an idea of serving the people and being responsible to society, improve the quality of products and the quality of projects and service, be mindful of reputation, link economic interests with social benefits, promote the welfare of the people, benefit society, and stimulate an improvement in social moral trends and moral levels.

Fourth, we must carry out education about communist ideals. We must educate workers so that they can foster the idea that great communist ideals are the strategic goal and fundamental demand of ideological and political work among workers and the most powerful source of spiritual strength for the working class in transforming the world. We must link great ideals with the practice of socialist reform and construction in which hundreds of millions of workers are personally participating and with current actual work, arousing people to get ahead and blaze trails in creating the new.

3. We must give full play to the role of propaganda and educational positions. Workers' cultural palaces, clubs, workers' schools, and workers' journals and magazines have played an ever important role in satisfying workers' cultural needs and enriching the masses' spiritual life. They must be further subjected to strengthened management and leadership. The ideological, cultural, and educational work departments of trade unions must take social benefits as the only yardstick by which to judge all activities. With this as a prerequisite, through improving operations and management, we must strengthen the capacity for self-development. We must give full play to the role of cultural palaces and clubs as ideological and political education positions, enhance the role of culture and technology as a school, and activate the role of workers' cultural life as a recreational resort. We advocate recreation as a means of education. The cultural and recreational activities of trade unions should be fresh and healthy. Feudal and bourgeois, backward things should be resisted. But we must also meet the cultural and spiritual needs of the masses in various fields at various levels, including ideologically harmless and culturally and entertainingly wholesome activities. Such activities must be made rich and colorful and full of life and appeal.

4. We must give full play to the role of basic level trade union organizations and the masses of activists. Strengthening ideological and political work among workers is the task of the trade union organization as a whole. Trade unions at various levels and various departments must pay great attention to this. Trade union groups are the cells of trade union organizations. Every worker's thoughts, sentiments, and interests naturally find expression in daily contacts between group members. Trade union groups should become basic links capable of doing ideological and political work well in a most timely, most penetrating, and most down-to-earth manner, and become fundamental units in building the two civilizations.

In recent years, through workers' reading activities, get-togethers of people with common interests, lectures, comments, talent contests, and other activities, there has emerged a large number of skilled personnel who are knowledgeable, have an idea of policy, have organizational skills and the capacity for doing propaganda and mobilization work, and keep in close touch with the masses. They are a new force in trade union work and a propaganda team not excused from production. They should be organized and trained and brought to a higher standard together with trade union activists including trade union group leaders, workers' representatives,

and advanced typical figures. Thus, a large contingent of activists can be created. Ideological and political work among workers can be greatly enlivened.

5. We must strengthen study efforts and greatly improve the quality of trade union workers. The first thing to do is to improve the quality of trade union cadres. Second, we must improve the workstyle in a down-to-earth manner, go deep among the masses, make friends with workers, and help them solve actual problems. Third, we must get deeply involved with reality, continuously make explorations, show courage in blazing new trails, direct energetic efforts toward practice, and gradually create new experiences in workers' ideological and political work that fit in with the characteristics of the era.

We are now in an era of reform. Our working class is shouldering a great and lofty historical mission. Ideological and political work among workers serves the great historical mission of the working class. We must show the spirit of a reformist, a pioneer, and an innovator, arouse our spirit in creating a new situation in ideological and political work among workers, work hard, and make still greater contributions toward the triumphant realization of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS' DUTIES, RISKS DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 86 p 1

/Article by Xia Yu /1115 7183/: "Necessary and Unnecessary Risks"

/Text/ I heard a comrade say that "to be an official" today has the least risks. These words are harsh, but when one reflects on them clearly, there is truth in them. There is certainly such a phenomenon in real life: those "officials" who do not want improvements or changes seems to be in a safe deposit box, fulfilling the famous words of Li Hongzhang, the prominent bureaucrat of the late Qing Dynasty, that the easiest job in the world has to become a government official. At present, most of our leading cadres are qualitatively different from the officials of the old society, but sadly, we still cannot say that those who are just "being officials" have completely disappeared. A few people have their ways to and ulterior motives in becoming officials. Ordinarily, they are not enthusiastic and being responsible in their work, concentrating on just "being officials." When something goes wrong in the work, to the point of even causing serious losses, there are subordinates who will take the blame and they do not share any responsibility or risks. The districts or departments they lead do not show any improvements: there are many major or serious crimes, bad elements with their endless evil deeds and incidents of various kinds. As long as they are not directly implicated, these officials are not being investigated; at most, they will be evaluated with such phrases as "bureaucratism" or "lacking an understanding of developments among their subordinates." If worse comes to worse, the whole affair ends when they are transferred and become officials at a different place. To be such a "tranquil official" without risks is certainly easy and carefree! We have really been too kind in our treatment of this kind of people.

On the other hand, some of our leading cadres have a pioneering spirit and they actively devoted themselves to reform, obtaining good results. Yet, pioneering work and changes are exploratory enterprises and these and those shortcomings and mistakes cannot be avoided. To correct these shortcomings and mistakes through seeking truth from facts is demanded by the reform itself and is a "risk" that should be accepted in reforms. But there are indeed those who not only fail to help actively and enthusiastically but also look at one aspect and criticize unreasonably; they may even find fault deliberately and spread malicious gossip. For those leading cadres working creatively, they should also have the courage to face such a "risk"; but it is also not worthwhile

to be "consumed" by it. People are justified in requesting that a good environment and atmosphere for reform should be created so that there will be fewer and smaller risks for the comrades who have the courage to initiate changes.

Not long ago I saw some encouraging reports. The Shijingshan district of Beijing implemented a rigorous cadre examination system and nine unqualified cadres at the section level were either demoted or dismissed. The masses indicated that this is the important reform of the cadre system. Consequently, it is not as easy to be a leading cadre. There should be a system of terms of office for party and political leading cadres and all kinds of leaders at all levels. During that term of office, there has to be a clear objective and specific demands; if they are not fulfilled or met, then the person should be demoted or dismissed. For those causing serious losses, they should be subjected to party or political discipline or even held legally responsible based on the individual cases. We cannot allow those who are up there to stay there forever. The weakness of letting cadres go up but not down has caused serious problems. If "being an official" requires to be responsible, to be examined and investigated, and that it is not going to be carefree and without risks, then those planning to be just "an official" will try to avoid becoming one altogether.

The more one tries to reform actively, the more risks there will be. The more incompetent and decrepit one is at one's post, the more security there will be and wherever there is such an unreasonable situation, there cannot be any talk of creating a new situation. We have to make sure that the few people who are just "being officials" can no longer stay on and eliminate those unnecessary risks for the majority of the leading cadres who are really serving the country and the people so that they can concentrate on the reforms.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

MINISTER ON SINO-FOREIGN CULTURAL EXCHANGES

HK050745 Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD AFFAIRS] in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 86
pp 10-11

[Article by Fang Lian: "Exploring New Horizons of Sino-Foreign Cultural Exchanges--an interview with Cultural Minister Wang Meng"]

[Excerpts] Since he took office as Minister of Culture, writer Wang Meng has drawn attention at home and abroad. Many Chinese and foreign reporters want to interview him.

After a long wait, the chance finally came. One midsummer afternoon, I was told to meet him at the Ministry of Culture. Full of hope, I arrived at the designated place on time, taking with me some well-considered questions. Unexpectedly, reporters from major Beijing newspapers and magazines and from XINHUA News Agency, as well as from YANGCHENG WANBAO in Guangzhou and XINMIN WANBAO in Shanghai, also gathered together to meet him. I could not help having some misgivings: Would it be a routine press conference at which Wang Meng read out his administrative policies and then declared the meeting over? Since Wang Meng was having a meeting with foreign guests, the reporters waited for him at the corridor. About half an hour later, after seeing off the guests, Wang Meng stood at the door of a big parlor to welcome the reporters. Smilingly he apologized for his inability to meet them on time. After asking everyone to sit down, he came straight to the point without making any introductory remarks. He said: "Since the time is limited, you'd better ask questions at once." No sooner had he finished speaking than I asked my first question: "What effect is the open policy having on China's arts and culture and what is your view about the cultures coming from the West?" Wang Meng immediately replied: "The open policy carried out over the past few years has enriched the cultural life of the Chinese people. Our cultural and [garble] have broadened their visions and we have obviously absorbed, in literature, cinema, drama, music, dance and art, the latest achievements and exploratory results in literature and art from various countries in the world. By and large, cultural exchanges among different countries are a positive phenomenon and a very good thing. Cultural exchanges are not a recent thing but date from a long time ago. Only through cultural exchanges among different countries is it possible for human culture to be constantly enriched and developed. With the implementation of the open policy, a considerable

portion of literature and art coming from the West is good. Naturally, there are also some things which do not suit the people's needs, which do not suit the development of our society, and which are even undesirable. This makes it necessary for us to make a good choice. I think, however, that only under open conditions is it possible for our cultural workers to learn to choose and to distinguish between what we should absorb and what we should discard and that we can benefit from the selection process. I think, therefore, it is unnecessary for us to be particularly worried about the possible adverse influences on our literature and art in the course of opening our country to the outside world. On the contrary, if we shut ourselves up in a closed environment, the development of our literature and art would certainly be affected. In the 10 years of turmoil, we were cut off from the outside world. Suffering great damage, our literature and art undertakings were also stagnant. I am confident about the development of China's literature and art because China has a long, rich, profound, and peculiar cultural tradition and there are few countries in the world which, like ours, still preserve their peculiar cultures intact. This proves that we have a powerful culture. We now have a more definite objective for the building of modern culture and, therefore, we know how to choose the things most beneficial to us. There is nothing to worry about.

My last question was about his plan for China's cultural exchanges with foreign countries. He said: "Our open policy also includes promoting and extending cultural exchanges with foreign countries. I maintain that what we export and import must be the best. I hope we can import the highest standard of art from other parts of the world. Italian singer Pavarotti has performed very successfully in China. It will exert a very great influence on our music and art." I think Comrade Wang Meng's idea is entirely in keeping with the aspirations of Chinese artists.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PROBLEMS IN MARRIAGE, FAMILY RELATIONS DISCUSSED

Shanghai FAXUE [JURISPRUDENCE] in Chinese No 6, Jun 86 pp 42,43

[Article by Shi Binghai [2457 3453 3189]: "New Problems Confronting the Study in Marriage and Family Relations; Summary of Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the National Marriage Law Association"]

[Text] On 16 March of this year, the Marriage Law Research Association of the China Law Society solemnly held its first annual meeting in Xiamen. Specialists, professors, scholars, judicial workers and teachers of marriage law from all over China assembled in Ludao to discuss the new developments, new changes and new problems in marriage and family relations brought by opening up to the outside world and invigorating the economy at home. Research in marriage and family relations has been very actively going on at home and abroad in recent years. The profound changes in marriage and family relations brought by China's economic structural reform have now become a new topic for such research. The main problems discussed are summarized as follows.

I. Effects of Current Rural Economic Structural Reform on Marriage and Family Relations

The peasants' economic life has greatly improved since the beginning of the economic structural reform in the countryside. The improvement of material life has brought greater conjugal happiness. First, rural families can now make their own decisions in business operation and production and performing these functions as contemporary rural families do. Second, along with the rapid development of production, some peasants have become wealthy ahead of others. Third, rural families are beginning to change from being well clothed and fed to being comparatively well off, and the gap between urban and rural areas is being narrowed. Fourth, voluntary marriage is now preponderant. Fifth, the size of families continues to be increasingly smaller. Sixth, family planning is now more willingly practiced. From this, we can see that the economic structural reform has not only yielded good economic results, but also infiltrated into families, the cells of society and the foundation of marriage, and is producing increasingly profound effects. On the other hand, because of the influence of feudal and bourgeois ideas, some outdated rules and undesirable habits in marriage and family relations have reappeared. First, in the countryside, there is a "back to the old days" tendency in the

form of wedding, and many babies are betrothed by the arbitrary decisions of their parents. Marriage is based on the amount of monetary gifts and real property instead of love. Thus while the material life is being improved, remnant feudal ideas are also producing their impact on marriage and family relations. Second, there are signs of deterioration in the quality of marriage. According to the representative of Anhui Province, a sample survey on some rural areas of the province from the winter of 1984 to the spring of 1985 showed that since the system of household contracts was adopted in 1980, the number of marriages based on free love has been reduced while marriages through introduction were on the increase. In the 5 years before the reform, the number of marriages for love accounted for 20.5 percent and that of marriages through introduction accounted for 71.8 percent of the total number. In the 5 years after the reform began, the rate of marriage for love dropped to 14.7 percent and that of marriages through introduction rose to 79.4 percent. Third, on the question of divorce, there is now the phenomenon of extorting huge amounts of money or property as a price, or paying a heavy price, for divorce. The representatives of Guangdong, Fujian and Anhui pointed out some new phenomena of one party paying a large sum of money for the "voluntary consent" of the other party to a divorce, or extorting large amounts of money or property for the consent to divorce. Such phenomena mostly occurs among the self-employed or the specialized households which have made large economic gains. The people in these households want something new after getting tired of something old. To satisfy this desire, they rely on their own superior economic power and offer money or property as the condition of divorce in an effort to obtain the other party's consent. (This intent is especially obvious when foreigners are involved in the divorce.) To satisfy his, or her, material wants, the other party may consent to the divorce against his or her own will. A legal condition for divorce is that when mutual love has been completely alienated, material benefits may serve as a substitute.

These phenomena were thoroughly discussed by the participating comrades, and they unanimously agreed that although practice has proved that the policy of economic structural reform is correct and entirely compatible with conditions in China, the party ideological-political work in the countryside has slackened and the ideological education for the peasants has been neglected. Some of these comrades believed that the basic cause of these abnormal phenomena is that China's economic and cultural developments are still low so that the idea of "material benefits above all things" has varying effects on the peasants. Some peasants who are adept in management have become wealthy fairly quickly. However, they cannot resist the corrosion of bourgeois ways of thinking, and become victims to the corrupted idea that "freedom from cold and hunger begets sexual desires." Spiritual civilization is also lagging behind material civilization. Because of the scarcity of cultural facilities and their insipid cultural life, some peasants who have become wealthy ahead of others have some wrong ideas of seeking personal enjoyment. This new trend deserves our attention.

II. A Reunderstanding and Assessment of Chinese Families' Productive Function

Some participants held that the extent of a family's productive function is decided by the degree of large-scale socialized production in the society, and

the degree of socialized production is in turn decided by the development of productive forces. The higher the level of such development, the larger will be the scale of socialized production. The family's productive function will be correspondingly weakened and may even completely fade away. Conversely, if the level of development of productive forces is low, the scale of socialized production will be smaller and the family's productive function will be correspondingly stronger. In the final analysis, therefore, the family's productive function is decided by the development of productive forces, and the two form an inverse proportional relationship. At the present stage, the uneven development of productive forces and multilevel structure have also given the productive function of Chinese families a multilevel form. Each household is a basic unit in individual economy, performing an integral productive function. Relatively speaking, the collective economy has also been weakened, but, in the vast countryside, the family still performs an important productive function. Others held that the achievements in the economic structural reform, particularly on the agricultural front, are inseparable from the recognition and restoration of the productive function of Chinese families, and the prospect of this function will be gradually weakened along with the progress of the four modernizations until it finally fades away.

III. Question of Ideological Causes of Divorce

People have fairly divergent opinions of the question of the ideological causes of divorce. Some people held that since the open-door policy, the influences of bourgeois extreme egoism, sexual emancipation and sexual freedom have induced people of weak will to take a frivolous attitude toward marriage. Another opinion was that the rise in the divorce rate was attributable to the influence of feudal ideas, the inadequate economic development, and the difference which still exists between urban and rural areas, between workers and peasants and between physical and mental labor. Marriage by arbitrary decisions and mercenary marriage which are still very common in some localities are the main cause of the high divorce rate. Still another opinion, based on an analysis from another perspective, was that instead of putting on the labels of feudal and bourgeois ideas, we should explore the ideological roots of divorce from the standpoint of social development. Socialist economic development has provided a material foundation for the pursuit of true love, but the new value concept of marriage has hastened the breakup of marriages and the disintegration of families. This has become a prelude of a "new age of civilization." Divorce as an extremely complex social phenomenon has its own innate law of development, and, after all, it develops and changes along with the social and economic developments and changes. This is a sign of social civilization and progress.

IV. Question of "Third Party"

The "third party" question is still an extremely sensitive one in marriage and family relations. Then how should "third party" be defined? And what should be the criterion of judgment? The views of the participating comrades were not quite the same. Some held that it should imply adultery or clandestine relations with married husbands or married wives. A second view was that the "third party" must definitely want to be joined in a wedlock with one of the

married couple. A third view was that there must be some actual deeds leading to the breakup of the married couple's family. A fourth view was that the third party in a divorce dispute refers to the person making illicit relations with the party seeking divorce. At the same time, many participants pointed out that one of the parties in marriage which has been broken up by the "third party" should also be judged, and, therefore, the "third party" should not be held entirely responsible. The responsibility of each party in a specific case should be assessed according to the role he or she plays. In the original marriage relationship, the erring party is called the "second party" and the party who is not at fault is called the "first party." The responsibility for breaking a family beyond repair should be borne by either the "third party" or the "second party" or both. Therefore, the situation of a third party putting his, or her, foot in other people's marriage and family relations is very complex. Judging from the general trend, however, we will see that the appearance of a third party is usually attributed to the lack of love as the foundation of the original marriage, or the lack of family happiness. Hereafter, we cannot indiscriminately blame the "third party" for seriously disrupting socialist marriage and family relations. Some other comrades firmly held that "third parties" of this category can be found in only 25-30 percent of all the divorce cases at present. They violate the socialist moral code and cannot meet the demand of socialist law. The intervention of "third parties" not only directly impairs the affection between married couples and cause disharmony or even the breakup of families, but may also lead to revenge with violence, homicide, injury, suicide and other serious consequences as well as serious disruption of social order. For this reason, the "third party" should not only be condemned by society, but should also be legally liable for his, or her, unlawful behavior and its dangerous consequences.

V. Several Supplementary Questions

1. Remarriage of old people is a rather prominent question in recent years. Some comrades pointed out that socialist society protects everyone's livelihood, and most old people, whose spouses have died, have to live with their children or grandchildren. Therefore, the solution of old people's problem should start from the families. At present, their desire for remarriage is mainly based on the following reasons: 1) the generation gap; 2) family disharmony; 3) the feeling of loneliness; and 4) the scarcity of recreation facilities for old people. According to the data of marriage introduction services, there is a gender imbalance for the remarriage of old people because of the surplus of males over females. Some old people want remarriage because of the feelings or urge of sex. The professor at a certain university, more than 70 years old, hoped to have a 20-30 year old girl for his spouse, and admitted his desire to enjoy sex life; called a second youth or "twilight love" in foreign countries. Furthermore, the proportion of divorces after old people's remarriage is what some people call "short, uneventful and swift." The reason is that in the choice of a spouse, an old person may attach more importance to certain conditions (such as freedom from child care, economic burden, and so forth) than to affection.

2. Remarriage, concubinage, adultery and prostitution are quite alarming in some areas. In a certain area of Zhejiang Province, the adultery rate reached 80 percent. In Fujian, Wenzhou of Zhejiang and Gansu, there is the practice of "wife renting" and "wife dating." On the whole, some ugly social phenomena of the past have resurfaced in recent years, and are even becoming worse in some localities.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

NEW CHARACTERISTICS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY DISCUSSED

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [STUDIES IN JURISPRUDENCE] in Chinese No 2, 23 Apr 86
pp 75-78

[Article by Luo Feng [5012 6912]: "New Characteristics of China's Juvenile Delinquency"]

[Text] The characteristics of juvenile delinquency is the most important topic in studying juvenile delinquency. New characteristics of juvenile delinquency are indicative of the times as reflected by juvenile crimes. This article will attempt to present a general description of these characteristics.

I. Crimes Being Committed at Earlier Age, Age Group of Offenders Tending To Be Younger

Since the beginning of the 1970's, the age of juvenile delinquents, compared with that of the 1950's and 1960's, has been reduced by 2 to 3 years, and even more in the large cities. The main indications are as follows: First, the crime rate of adolescents has gradually risen. In a certain province during the early 1950's, the number of criminal cases involving people under the age of 18 amounted to about 5 percent of the total number and rose to 9 percent in 1961. In 1980, the same cases accounted for 6 percent, and those involving people under 16 accounted for 11.6 percent. These two categories combined to raise the number of juvenile crimes to 17.6 percent. In the past several years, the crime rate of adolescents continued to rise and was above 20 percent in 1984. Second, the average age of criminals has dropped by a fairly wide margin. The average age of juvenile delinquents in a certain city was 23.2 in 1958; 20.3 in 1980; and 19.7 in 1981, 3.5 years less than in 1958. In that city, the highest age of criminals was 25 in 1958 and 18 in 1980 and 1981, 7 years younger. The average age of juvenile delinquents in China is continuing to drop, and the adolescent offenders are continuing to increase. The trend of law violations by younger people has become increasingly obvious.

The causes of this trend are many. On the whole, it is related to the age composition of China's population. According to an analysis of the relevant statistical data, 65 percent of the population are under 30 years. At the same time, because of the rapid development of the social productive forces and the progress of science, technology, culture and education, the material

life of all people has improved and young people have matured earlier. As a result, the young people, especially those in their late childhood, are more exposed to unhealthy social influences. That is why in the violation of law, the age of offenders tends to be increasingly younger. An important cause for the "lower age group" of juvenile delinquents is closely related to the large number of displaced students of elementary and junior secondary schools in the urban and rural areas and their drifting into the society. According to a survey on 265 ordinary secondary schools in a certain city, more than 49,000 junior secondary school students drifted into the society in 1978-1981, and the average number of these students each year accounted for 9.5 percent of the total number of students. In 1982, in the same city, 7,000 students of junior secondary schools, 4 percent of the total number of regular students, drifted into the society. Based on calculations at this rate of increase, there would be more than 20,000 such students in that city in 1982, and they could be a threat to social order. According to investigations in the crimes committed by junior secondary schools in that city, the crime rate was 0.43 per thousand for the regular students and 7.6 per thousand for the displaced students. The main cause of the high crime rate for displaced students was that on entering society, their environment and personal relations underwent great changes and they were more exposed to unhealthy social influences. According to a survey on the displaced students of a certain city, 71.8 percent of them made new friends and 48.5 percent of their intimate friends were of bad character or had criminal records.

II. Multiple Crimes, Prominence of Violent, Vicious Cases

If we compare the crimes committed by juveniles with those of adults, we will find that the former mostly commit larceny, while the latter commit all types of crimes. On the whole, larceny committed by juveniles always ranks first, although its rate varied in different periods. This rate tends to be higher in the 1950's and 1960's than in the 1980's mainly because the proportions of different types of juvenile crimes in China have changed since the beginning of the 1970's.

In a certain city, for example, juvenile crimes were mostly larceny, while cases of robbery and homicide were very rare. Of all the crimes committed from 1950 to 1958, larceny by juveniles accounted for 89.9 percent, while the robbery and homicide cases involving them numbered only 9. From 1959 to 1966, juvenile delinquency was still mostly in the form of larceny, and it was only during the 3 years of natural disasters that juveniles began robbing and looting. (At that time, the rate of juvenile delinquency was 21 percent.) Along with the improvement of the economic situation in the urban and rural areas, however, this type of crime was markedly reduced. Since the beginning of the 1970's, the rate of larceny by juveniles has markedly declined, while their crimes in other forms increased. Most of the cases of robbery, homicide, infliction of injury, hooliganism and rape involved juveniles. Furthermore, in the 1950's and 1960's, the crimes of a "single-violence" type developed into crimes of a "mixed-violence" type, and the cases of multiple crimes of the "mixed-violence" type, such as homicide as a means of destroying evidence of larceny, robbery or rape, rarely seen in the past, occurred in an endless succession, and the share of juveniles was obviously on the increase. In 1981, in a certain medium-size city, juveniles accounted for 84.8 percent of

the culprits apprehended in cases of infliction of injury, robbery and rape. Among them, 91.8 percent were cases of infliction of injury; 93.4 percent, cases of robbery; 25 percent, cases of rape; and 63.4 percent, cases of hooliganism.

III. Law violations and Crimes "in General Terms"

The "general terms" here refer, first, to the significant difference between the family background of juvenile delinquents now and that of their counterparts in the 1950's and 1960's; and, second, the higher rate of juvenile delinquency among the "above middle level" families, if the economic factor is considered.

In the 1950's and 1960's, juveniles accounted for about 20 percent of the law-breakers in China, and they were mostly homeless children before the liberation or undesirable youths controlled by gangsters. The proportion of the sons and daughters of workers, peasants and state cadres was very low. In the 1970's and 1980's, however, the proportion of these sons and daughters increased every year. According to an analysis of the family conditions of 120 juvenile delinquents in a certain city, 93 of them, 77.5 percent, came from workers' families; 20 of them, 16.7 percent, from cadres' families; 2.6 percent, from intellectuals' families; and 1 percent each from peasants' and other families. It is noteworthy that of all these crimes, those committed by the sons and daughters of state cadres, especially those of leading cadres, are more conspicuous. The reason for these crimes is that, apart from the undesirable social influences, the unhealthy party work style and particularly the malpractices or the toleration or even abetment of evils also have some harmful effects. These crimes not only directly endanger social order, but also produce extremely undesirable political effects and seriously jeopardize the party's prestige.

Another tendency which we can see is that the proportion of juvenile delinquents from families of the middle economic class is on the increase. In the past, it was generally believed that the poverty of the family and the consequent scarcity of food and clothing are important causes, including juvenile delinquency. However, most of the juvenile delinquents now come from families which are economically "above the middle level" or even well-to-do. According to an analysis of the economic conditions of the families of 40 juvenile delinquents in a certain city, and based on the per capita living expenses in cities, 10 of them, 25 percent, were from well-to-do families; 16 of them, 40 percent, from families of the middle economic class; and 14 of them, 35 percent, from poor families. Thus the well-to-do and the "middle class" families combine to account for 65 percent of the total number. This shows that the main cause of juvenile delinquency is no longer an economic one. It is only the inordinate greed for material enjoyment that led the youths on to the path of crime.

IV. Crime Rate Dropping Among Regular Secondary School Students and Rising Among University Students

There have been fluctuations in the crime rate among the secondary school students of the large and medium-size cities in China. It was very low in the

1950's and 1960's, reached the peak in the 1970's, and gradually dropped in the 1980's. In a certain city, for example, among the juvenile delinquents apprehended from 1960 to 1965, the regular secondary school students accounted for 19.5 percent. The proportion rose to 37.5 from 1974 to 1979, and has dropped to slightly over 10 percent since 1980.

In recent years, however, the crime rate among students of universities and specialized colleges was rising every year. In 1980, the number of convicted university students was 5 per 10,000, and rose in 1981 to 7.3 per 10,000 among all regular students. In 1983, the crime rate among students of institutions of higher learning in a certain city was 9 per 10,000.

The cause of law violations by university students, like that of other juveniles, is also complicated and diversified. According to an analysis of the typical cases, several factors deserve great attention. (1) Lack of lofty ideals. Some students believe that entering a university would mean entering a "red strongbox" and holding an "iron rice bowl," and then neglect their study in the pursuit of vulgar interests. Zhu x x, a student of Shanghai's Marine Products College, was formerly rated as a "three good" student in high school. After passing the university entrance examination, he relaxed his efforts in studying specialized subjects and read obscene publications which corrupted his mind and later led him on to the road of hooliganism. (2) Weak legal concept. Some university students already had bad character in their secondary school days and this character continued to develop after they entered universities. A student after conviction even said: "This is only a minor matter. I never thought it could be a law violation." From this, we can see that even well-educated people do not necessarily know about or understand law, or abide by it willingly. (3) Weak political-ideological work in schools. This is one of the important causes of law violations by university students in the past several years. The life style, way of thinking and concept of value of the university students of the 1980's are vastly different from those of their counterparts of the 1950's and 1960's. The new conditions demand that new methods be adopted to strengthen the ideological-political work among the university students. On the other hand, however, ideological-political work in schools is confronted with many handicaps in various respects. This problem must be taken seriously in order that its solution can be found.

V. Increase in Rural Juvenile Delinquency

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the universal adoption of the output-related system of contracted responsibility in the countryside, people everywhere have enjoyed peace and prosperity. In the course of this great historical change, however, some new developments and new problems have also appeared in the rural social order, and the most outstanding problem is the rise in the crime rate including the rate of juvenile delinquency. According to a survey conducted in 1980, the number of juvenile cases in the countryside of a certain province accounted for 49.3 percent of the total number in the province. The proportion increased to 51.2 percent in 1981 and 54.8 percent in 1982.

There are many basic characteristics of juvenile crimes common to both the countryside and the cities, such as headstrong action, large gangs, and the high rate of repeated crimes. The reason is that juveniles in both rural and urban areas have the psychological and physiological traits common to all youths. Furthermore, in the past several years, the influence of the urban juveniles was also closely related to the crimes of their rural counterparts. However, in view of the fairly large difference between cities and the countryside in China, the characteristics of crimes committed by rural juveniles, who are living under different political, economic, cultural and educational conditions, naturally cannot be the same as those committed in the cities. According to a survey of several provinces, the most salient features of juvenile delinquency in the countryside are as follows: First, a new trend of larceny by rural juveniles. In the past, the rural juveniles committed larceny single-handedly; now there are more and more roving gangs. Unlike their city counterparts, the rural juveniles formed gangs of mainly their brothers and relatives for the purpose of larceny, and what they want to steal has changed from food and ordinary articles for daily use to means of agricultural production, high-grade textile products, TV sets, recorders and other high-grade consumer goods. Second, because of the intensification of civil disputes, the proportions of acts of violence, homicide, serious injury, and other criminal cases are very high, and, compared with similar cases in the countryside of the past, the causes of these cases are more complex, the contradictions are more deep-seated, and the premeditations and plans for action are also different. In recent years, these criminal cases in the countryside were usually caused by improper handling of civil disputes which led to the intensification of contradictions and then crimes. Many cases of homicide and infliction of injury are attributable to the untimely handling of marital conflict, adultery or property disposal. According to the statistics on 16 counties of a prefecture in a certain province, of the 212 cases of homicide and infliction of serious injury following civil disputes, 21 cases, 28.8 percent, were caused by disputes over water, farmland, farm tools and housing areas; 76 cases, 35.8 percent, by love affairs, marriages and family feuds. These two categories combined to account for 64.6 percent of the total number. Third, the crime rate of single youths in the countryside is high. According to the statistics of a certain county, the number of singles committing crimes accounted for nearly 5 percent of the total county population. In recent years, of the people arrested in that county, the proportion of singles accounted for 21-25 percent, and most of them were single youths. Once the single youths in the countryside commit crimes, reform through education will be difficult and the rate of recommitted crimes will be high. A certain person was convicted of larceny. He was released after serving his sentence and found to be of good behavior. However, he had no home to return to, because his house had been destroyed in a fire. Therefore, he returned to his old profession. When he was released a second time after reform through labor, the township government did not take care of him properly and he again drifted here and there to commit crimes. When he was arrested and interrogated, he repeated time and again: "I will never return to my home village. As long as I have something to do and to eat, reform through either labor or education will be fine with me." There was another rural single youth who was given a 5-year sentence. He requested an

additional 5 years, adding that "if the sentence is not increased, I will still have difficulty with living after my release in 5 years. I may commit crime again."

Juvenile delinquency in the countryside is a comprehensive reflection of various rural social contradictions. For many years, many social contradictions have accumulated because of leftist errors. These contradictions were temporarily concealed under the social and political pressure at that time. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, action was taken to bring order out of chaos, and social life gradually became normal. The contradictions accumulated over the years were naturally revealed, but we need time and certain conditions to resolve them. Some new developments and new problems would also appear under the new conditions of opening up to the outside world and invigorating the economy at home. Therefore, we must look at the problems from a historical and dialectical point of view. In the past several years, especially at the beginning of the reform, some increase in rural crimes and a higher rate of juvenile delinquency were an almost unavoidable social problem. According to the present trend, we can see, on the one hand, a gradual reduction in juvenile crimes along with the development of the rural commodity economy. On the other hand, however, because of this development and the increasing urbanization of rural life, the flow of people, money and materials will be faster and the urban crimes will exert a stronger influence on the countryside. Therefore, in the past several years, juvenile delinquency in the countryside would not have been reduced much, and even the temporary reduction in some areas may be followed by a reversal.

VI. Increase in Law Violations of the "Recreation Type"

Based on the characteristics of Western social crimes, people in Western judicial circles believe that the motive behind juvenile delinquency in the Western countries of the present is different from that of the past, and that crimes of the "poverty type" is now being transformed into those of a "recreation type" (called "amusement type" in Japan).

Although the motive behind the crimes of China's juveniles in the past several years remained the same as before--that is, the satisfaction of their material and financial wants--the tendency of committing crimes simply for excitement and amusement has developed greatly. This tendency is shown by the cases of looting military caps and the resulting street fights in the 1970's, the stealing of cars or bicycles simply for joy rides, the imitation of "robbery" shown in movies and television, the molesting of females and other mischievous acts of hooliganism. These crimes of the "recreation type" have the following characteristics: first, more cases of collective action; second, their great popularity and widespread occurrence; and third, unawareness of the criminal nature on the part of the perpetrators. Juveniles, especially the younger ones, are full of curiosity and eager to imitate. They would like to try and see everything and are apt to take undue risks. The 3 August 1984 issue of BEIJING WANBAO carried this news report: With pliers, scissors and satchel in hand, a 15-year student and his younger brother broke into a certain military installation at night for the purpose of stealing guns. They were apprehended on the spot. According to their confessions, they had great admiration for

the public security personnel cracking cases with gun in hand as depicted in movies. Therefore, they wanted the guns just for fun. When they saw the guard on duty watching a movie outside, they stole in trying to get the guns. Young people with a strong sense of curiosity and under the influence of movie or TV characters, can very easily do stupid things which are beyond the imagination of adults. Therefore, it is very necessary that legal education and movie commentary should be promoted in elementary and secondary schools.

Our purpose of studying the characteristics of juvenile delinquency is to explore the difference between juvenile and adult crimes. By studying how these characteristics are formed, we can discover the extraordinary causes of juvenile delinquency and master the law of its development. This should be of great theoretical and practical significance in implementing the party's general and specific policies for solving the problem of juvenile crimes, formulating measures for crime prevention, making laws for juvenile protection, and setting up and strengthening the juvenile judicial system.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SYMPOSIUM ON HIGHER CORRESPONDENCE EDUCATION HELD

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by Yang Zhihan [2799 2535 5060]: "An Important Step to Readjust the Structure of Higher Education: Summary of the National Conference on Higher Correspondence Education Work"]

[Text] At the national conference on higher correspondence education work, the State Education Commission suggested that the structure of higher education should be readjusted, and that higher correspondence education should be made one of the basic responsibilities of institutions of higher education. This is a way to expand enrollment and an important step to reform the higher education system.

Breakthrough in Developing Higher Education

Information provided at the meeting showed that there is no shortage of teachers for the development of higher education. At present, there are 344,000 teachers and some 1.7 million full-time undergraduate students in China's universities and colleges. The ratio is one teacher to five students, which is very high compared with other similar countries. What hinders development today is that the schools; living and teaching facilities, such as dormitories, dining rooms, sports grounds, libraries and classrooms, are already used to over capacity. If we are to have more resident students, the state has to invest more than 10,000 yuan per student in capital construction alone.

It was determined at the meeting to recognize correspondence and evening colleges as regular forms of institutions of higher learning. This is a breakthrough in China, opening up new prospects for the development of higher education. The experiences of five universities and colleges and the coal industry and posts and telecommunications departments exchanged at the meeting offered encouraging examples. Take the Northeast Normal University for example. The university now has 1,400 teachers and 6,700 full-time resident students, and it has a correspondence program offering education in 17 specialties with an enrollment of 7,500, which brings total enrollment to 14,200 and a teacher-student ratio of 1 to 10. This certainly is a leap forward in tapping the potential capacity of teachers and accelerating the growth of higher education.

There should be a suitable ratio between correspondence education and full-time schooling. Some schools are attaching greater importance to correspondence education than others. For example, the proportion of correspondence students in Tongji University and Chinese People's University has grown to 28 percent and 55 percent respectively. Delegates to the meeting held that based on experience at home and abroad, the proportion can be increased gradually to 30 percent or 40 percent nationwide. It should be possible to raise the proportion of correspondence to 25 percent during the Seventh 5-Year Plan period.

Policy Problems

Higher correspondence education has trained more than 200,000 professional people in various fields for the country in the past 30 years and more. However, the road has been tortuous for the development of correspondence education. Before the "cultural revolution," the number of correspondence colleges and departments in China had grown to 126 with a total enrollment of 149,000, or 25 percent of the number of full-time students enrolled at that time. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, correspondence education has been restored and developed step by step. By 1985, the number of universities and colleges offering correspondence courses increased to 311, enrolling 360,000 correspondence students. The number of correspondence students, however, was only 17 percent the number of full-time students, a much lower proportion. The number of correspondence students has not grown as fast as the enrollment capacity of this form of education has. Why has it been this way? The meeting held that it is because some policies have not been readjusted in good time. For example, funds available for correspondence education are far less than needed, and schools which offer correspondence courses have to take a financial loss. This naturally affects the development of correspondence education. Policies should be adopted to make correspondence and other forms of schooling an integral part of the developing higher education system. Correspondence education should be expanded to include a wider range of students and courses, not limited to undergraduate courses for adults. It should also accept middle school graduates and even start postgraduate programs.

Quality Is Vital

It is vital for correspondence education to be of high quality. Without quality, development is out of the question, not to mention results. The delegates from institutions of higher learning in various provinces and municipalities strongly objected to the so-called correspondence or magazine "colleges" operated by some units in society, which simply issue teaching materials, collect an exorbitant fee, but pay no attention to quality, and thus damage the reputation of correspondence education as a whole. According to statistics, there are 30 unregistered "colleges" of this kind, enrolling 1 million students, in one municipality alone. These young people pay tens of millions of yuan in tuition each year, just to "buy some expensive teaching materials." The delegates pointed out: It is wrong to collect an exorbitant tuition, but these "colleges" are doing something even worse--they are issuing diplomas without authorization and without a unified examination. The delegates hoped that the State Education Commission will urge the departments concerned to adopt measures to bring the matter under control.

The meeting summed up the experiences gained in running regular correspondence education in China over the past 30 odd years. The experiences are: Higher correspondence education must be based on regular universities and colleges to take advantage of their superior teacher force, educational facilities and administrative experience, and enrollment and expenditures should be included in state plans; the entire teaching-and-learning process of correspondence education, which includes study on one's own, face-to-face instruction, guidance in study and answering questions, assignments, experiments, practice, examinations, course planning, graduation projects, debate and so forth, a whole series of teaching and learning links, should be completed in a well-planned, organized and guided way; the total hours of face-to-face instruction for correspondence students should be equal to 30 percent of the total hours of instruction for full-time students in the same fields and at the same levels; the state should grant correspondence students the needed time off for study on official leave; and attention should be paid to strengthening the teacher force, correspondence teaching materials and correspondence education centers.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

TIANSHUI TO RESTORE CHIANG KAI-SHEK INSCRIPTIONS

HK290917 Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0658 GMT 28 Aug 86

[Report by Liu Rongqing [0491 2837 1987]: "Gravestone of Li Guang, a General of the Han Dynasty, Bearing Chiang Kai-Shek's Inscriptions, Preserved Well"]

[Excerpt] Lanzhou, 28 Aug (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--A stone tablet and a tower bearing Chiang Kai-shek's inscriptions "Grave of the Han General Li Guang," which are erected in front of the grave of Li Guang, famous general of the western Han, are still well preserved despite ravages of wind and rain and social upheaval. The grave is in Tianshui city of Gansu Province.

Li Guang's grave was built at a 2-storey tableland near the Shima [stone horse] level ground at the foot of Nanwen Shan. It was a circular cone 10 meters in diameter and 3 meters high. The grave was enclosed with a brick wall, and Chinese alpine rush grew on the top of the grave. In front of the grave, there was an inscriptional writing by Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty announcing the reestablishment of granting lands, and the vestiges of two stone horses which were similar to the artistic style of the Maoling carved stones during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty. The Shima (stone horse) level ground was named because of the two stone horses.

In 1944, Chiang Kai-shek came to Tianshui to sweep the grave of Li Guang, and wrote inscriptions for it. Local gentry also built a tower, which was a tetrahedron 15 meters high. During the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution," some people whitewashed the inscriptions written by Chiang Kai-shek, so that they could be preserved. In December 1981, the Tianshui City Government officially defined Li Guang's grave and historical relics in front of it as key cultural relics to be protected by the [government].

Yesterday, an official of the Tianshui City Government told this reporter on the spot that the cultural relics department of the city was working out a plan for repairing Li Guang's grave and restoring Chiang Kai-shek's inscriptions. It will be open to Chinese and foreign tourists.

/9604
CSO: 4005/954

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

NATIONAL MINORITY-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER SEMINAR ENDS

SK310340 Hohhot Nei Mongol Regional Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 30 Aug 86

[Excerpt] A national seminar to exchange experiences gained in running minority-language newspapers successfully concluded in Hohhot on the morning of 30 August.

The seminar urged the minority-language newspapers to concentrate on developing, to have clear characteristics, and to render service to the programs of conducting reforms in minority areas and building the two civilizations.

During the seminar, the participating comrades exchanged experiences gained in running minority-language newspapers, studied and discussed new problems cropping up under the new situation, and explored new ways of conducting reforms among the minority-language newspapers.

The seminar pointed out: Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the work of running newspapers in minority areas throughout the country has achieved marked development. According to statistics, our country had 85 minority-language newspapers as of the end of 1985, which are published in 17 minority languages. The appearance of so many minority-language newspapers is unprecedented in our country's history and fully reflects the prosperous situation in the work of running minority-language newspapers in the country.

The seminar pointed out: Minority-language newspapers are an important component of the journalist undertaking of our party and are the mouthpieces of the party, the government, and the people. Therefore, these newspapers must uphold the principles of party spirit, grasp the situation as a whole, and must regard as their major tasks the work of publicizing the achievements scored in unity, reforms, and construction. Current efforts should be made to vigorously publicize the drive to conduct reforms and to have a clear-cut stand in supporting the drive in order to enhance the guiding role of newspapers.

The seminar held that the minority-language newspapers should give priority to their characteristics in publicizing and reporting and should proceed from the development of the economy, culture, and history among the

minority areas throughout the country because of the difference between the minority-language newspapers and the Han-language ones in readership and in the aspects of the economy, culture, living habits, and religious beliefs. Efforts should be made to enable these newspapers to further reflect the characteristics of their own localities and nationalities and to foster their unique style. It is also necessary to encourage minority-language newspapers to edit and cover the news independently and to build a contingent of minority journalistic personnel who are well versed in both proper language and professional work and are both red and expert, as well as a contingent of communications personnel who are of sufficient numbers and high quality to enhance the capability of the newspapers, better render service to the programs of conducting reforms, building a spiritual civilization, and accelerating the pace of developing the economy and culture among the minority areas.

Bu He, deputy secretary of the autonomous regional party committee and chairman of the autonomous regional people's government, attended and addressed the seminar.

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CSO: 4005/954

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BIOGRAPHIES OF HU SHI, CHEN DUXIU PUBLISHED

HK030337 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 86 p 3

[Report: "Biographies of Hu Shi and Chen Duxiu Published for the First Time Since the Founding of the PRC"]

[Text] The biographies of Hu Shi and Chen Duxiu, two well-known figures in China's contemporary history, were published recently. This is the first time since the founding of the PRC that Chinese mainland scholars have written and openly published biographies of them. Their biographies were carried in Volume 1 of "Biographies of Contemporary Educationists in China" which was recently published by the Hunan Educational Publishing House.

Hu Shi was a well-known scholar and important educationist in China. During the period of the May 4th Movement, he was the first to advocate writing in the vernacular, and played a key role in promoting the New Culture Movement. He also made great contributions to the study of ancient Chinese culture and the development of modern education in China. As a bourgeois liberal, Hu Shi adopted right-deviationist conservatism politically and finally became a politician in the KMT government. But he remained an academic. He left the Chinese mainland in 1949 and died in 1962. People on the mainland know nothing about his life during that period. The compilers of "Biographies of Contemporary Educationists in China" invited Mr Bai Ji'an, a historian, to write Hu Shi's biography in which he records in detail Hu Shi's entire life until the day Hu died in Taiwan. The author exhaustively studied information about Hu Shi, including information published in Taiwan; interviewed some elders who had contacts with Hu Shi, such as Liang Shuming, Zhou Gucheng, and Luo Ergang; discovered some information which few people knew in the past; corrected the mistakes in Taiwan's publications about Hu Shi; rectified some biased ideas about Hu Shi which were very popular on the Chinese mainland for a long time in the past; and made an objective and pertinent appraisal of Hu Shi's life.

Chen Duxiu was one of the founders of the CPC and a leader in its early period. He was also an important educationist. In Chen Duxiu's biography published in the "Biographies of Contemporary Educationists in China," the author incorporates the results achieved over the past few years in research of CPC history, particularly Chen Duxiu's experience and achievements in educational work during the May 4th Movement, and gave detailed information on Chen Duxiu's life, particularly during his later years.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CPC IDEAL SUPPORTED BY 79 PERCENT--Although the Chinese who were born around the 1950's experienced the upheavals of the "Cultural Revolution," they have not become apathetic to politics. Most still support the nation's present political system. A recent survey of 600 Chinese of the 28-40 age group shows that 79 percent of them support the Chinese Communist Party's political ideal and 93 percent are concerned with current politics. The survey was carried out by the Social Sciences Bulletin. Among the 600 polled, 18 percent were Party members and 34 percent Youth League members. [Excerpt] [Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 5 Sep 86 p 4 HK] /12858

FEMALE TEACHER STATISTICS--Beijing, 7 September (XINHUA)--Recent breakdowns made by a department under the State Education Commission show that there are 3,587,000 women teachers in China, 160,000 more than a year ago, PEOPLE'S DAILY reported today. Among those teachers engaged in higher education, 40,000 have assumed such professional titles as professor, associate professor and lecturer. Moreover, some 1.16 million teachers teach in ordinary middle schools or technical secondary schools and 2.27 million, in primary schools. There are also many others working in kindergartens or for special education. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0152 GMT 7 Sep 86 OW] /12858

RADIO, TV UNIVERSITY GRADUATES--Beijing, 8 September (XINHUA)--270,000 students graduated from China's radio and television universities nationwide today. Among these graduates, 230,000 are economics majors. This figure is 2.2-fold more than the economics graduates from regular universities and colleges over the past 30 years, according to the State Education Commission. Sent to the universities by their work units, these graduates will now return there to work. Since these universities specialize in the practical application of skills learned, employers find that they adapt more quickly to their jobs than regular university graduates, an official of the commission said. The 3-year radio and television universities mainly enroll workers, engineers, and government officials, and teach subjects similar to other universities. Beginning this year, enrollment will be extended to middle school graduates and youth awaiting jobs in order to make a university education accessible to more people, disclosed He Dongchang, vice minister of the commission and head of the Central Radio and Television University. All governmental levels have opened radio and television universities, employing 13,000 full and part-time teachers. Since 1979, 610,000 students have graduated. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1224 GMT 8 Sep 86 OW] /12858

FOREIGN EDITIONS OF ZHU DE WORKS--Beijing, 8 September (XINHUA)--Japanese, Russian and Spanish editions of the selected works of late Marshal Zhu De have just come off the press, according to the foreign languages press. The foreign editions contain 65 important works with 32 of them published for the first time. They were written between 1931 and 1962 by Zhu, late vice-chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and commander-in-chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, who died on 6 July 1976. The works were compiled by the editorial committee on party literature of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and translated by the CPC Central Committee's Bureau for Translating the Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. The English and French editions will be published soon. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0754 GMT 8 Sep 86 OW] /12858

CARICATURE EXHIBITION IN SHANGHAI--According to a WEN HUI BAO dispatch, the "Shanghai Caricature Contest and Exhibition" opened yesterday at the Shanghai Fine Arts Hall. Attending the opening ceremony were Xia Zhengnong and Wu Zongxi and famous caricaturists Hua Junwu, Zhang Leping, Ding Cong, Cai Zhenhua and Te Wei. A total of 189 exhibits were displayed at this exhibition which was sponsored by the Shanghai chapter of the Chinese Artists' Association, JIEFANG RIBAO, WEN HUI BAO, XIN MIN WAN BAO, WENXUE BAO, MANHUA SHIJIE and other groups. In a relaxed and harmonious environment for creative works, the caricaturists have become more open-minded and their themes have become broader. In the field of fine arts, they have explored many areas. This is a special feature of the entire exhibition. It is the first time that several caricatures of China's leaders were displayed, arousing the interest of the people. Caricaturist Hua Qunwu praised the authors of these caricatures as "pioneers who opened up this road of creative works." [Text] [Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 16 Aug 86 p 4] /9604

OFFICIAL VISITS XIZANG--Sun Daguang, member of the Central Advisory Commission, former minister of geology and mineral resources, and secretary of the ministry party group, came to Xizang to guide work. On 2 September, he listened to reports in the regional Bureau of Geology and Mineral Resources. Qamco, vice chairman of the regional people's government, attended the meeting and spoke. (Tao Yougong), chief engineer of the regional Bureau of Geology and Mineral Resources, introduced to Comrade Sun Daguang the general situation of the Xizang Bureau of Geology and Mineral Resources, the mineral resources of our region and its strong points, basic geology, scientific research work, the main tasks for the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, and the problems now existing. After listening to the reports, Comrade Sun Daguang pointed out: Xizang has already given full play to the strong points of its resources. In its future work, it must stress the development of valuable metals, such as gold, precious stones, and so on. At the same time, it must develop lateral economic ties. [Text] [Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 4 Sep 86 HK] /12858

CSO: 4005/978

EAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

PARTY RECRUITMENT PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 86 p 5

[Article by Yancheng City Rural District CPC Committee Organization Department Report: "Emphasize the Education and Supervision of Probationary Party Members; Investigation of Incidents of Cancellation of Eligibility and Deferment of Full-member Standing of 13 Probationary Party Members"]

[Text] On our visit to the rural districts outside of Yancheng City in Jiangsu Province we discovered some weak links in the education and supervision of probationary party members among some party organizations. Last year, out of 868 probationary party members in the 25 small towns and villages 13, or 0.15 percent were refused full-membership, 6 of those had their eligibility removed and 7 had their probationary period extended.

Why were these 13 probationary members' eligibility cancelled or deferred? Investigations disclosed the following problems:

1. Out of the 13 people 3, or 23 percent, had impure motives for joining the party. These comrades were interested only in the benefits and not the job. They lacked the sense of responsibility in leading the people toward collective prosperity. They have changed completely since their recruitment. A certain former probationary party member from Panwang Village's Genghuo Hamlet was an assistant manager of a spice factory. He worked hard and was devoted to his job. He was well-known and respected. After he was recruited, he figured that he had achieved his "goals" and that there would be "nothing more to gain" by working for the collective. Soon he began to drive hard bargains for the 1985 responsibility contracts; later he even sacrificed the interests of the collective for his own gains. His eligibility was cancelled.

2. Four persons, or 31 percent suffered from a poor sense of organization and discipline. These comrades had a weak concept of the organization and their discipline was slack; they were "too sure of themselves." After they were recruited they no longer demanded the most of themselves; they no longer participated in the regular activities of the party or paid membership dues. In Yongfeng Village's Xinhui Hamlet a probationary member worked on one temporary job after another and never participated in party activities. The party branch tried working on him but to no avail, his eligibility was cancelled by reason of prolonged non-participation in the regular activities of the party branch.

3. Six persons, or 46 percent suffered from serious individualism. These people only thought of their own interests and did not measure up to the standards of a communist. A probationary member from the agricultural station in Beijiang Village took advantage of his pesticide business and received money without crediting it to the account and embezzled closed to 400 yuan which he repaid only upon discovery by the organization. His probationary period was extended.

In view of the above problems we suggest that in order to recruit better party members in the future we must pay special attention to the following points:

First, when considering potential party members we should not focus on the momentary or on a single incident. On the whole, most comrades actively seeking membership have pure motives, but we should realize that a few of them do have ulterior motives. Some people just want to "look good," "get places" and "reap advantages." These comrades seem enthusiastic before they are recruited and "look especially promising" for a short time. When the grass-root organizations examine whether a potential recruit is ready, they must examine whether the comrade has a good knowledge of the party and whether his motives are pure. Never recruit someone based on momentary performances. Although we may emphasize the recruitment of the progressive youths, we must not recruit someone just because he is young and educated, regardless of his lack of other qualifications. And although we emphasize recruitment from the "two households" we must not recruit someone with high income while neglecting his political and ideological qualities. And above all we cannot recruit someone based on some special skills and ignore all other factors. In short, we must analyze a potential recruit systematically and comprehensively. Recruit those who show good performance consistently, those whose foundations are sound, who have pure motives, who can stand up to the test of time and practice, and those who are well qualified. Do not rush to "follow the trend" now and suffer from "inherent defects" later, leading to retrogressions among party members.

Secondly, do not indulge or take care of special recruits. In order to guarantee quality we must always insist on qualifications when we recruit members. Only by selecting carefully during recruitment can we avoid "drop-outs" during the probationary period. Investigations of the 13 "retrogressed" members, especially the 6 whose eligibility have been removed, showed that these people were not fully qualified and were recruited despite known problems here and there. A main reason behind this is some grass-root party organizations fail to follow strictly the membership standards specified by the party constitution, or even lower the standards and make special accommodations. Some are less demanding with cadres in the village organizations feeling that these people may not have accomplished much but nevertheless have worked hard during all these years. Some organizations recruit people who are successful in the jobs despite their obvious flaws. Some are especially lenient toward the children of leading cadres and make special efforts to recruit them without much consideration for their qualifications. Some even play "match-making" during recruitment. These practices not only affect the quality of new members but also damage the prestige of the party. In order to guarantee the quality of new members, we must emphasize three central links: first, strengthen the system of examination of potential recruits by designated personnel. Second, solicit

ideas and suggestions from the public as well as from party members. Third, tighten procedures for membership examination and approval.

Thirdly, do not slacken the pace of education and supervision during the probationary period. Some grass-root party organizations neglect the education and supervision of probationary party members. They just "let go after the procedure is completed." We feel that in the education and supervision of the probationary members, we must work on the following areas: 1) Stress basic party education. 2) Stress membership standard education. 3) Stress regular inspections. 4) Stress examination and extra lessons. All probationary party members should accept party education and supervision on their own initiative. Through education and inspection it is normal for the majority of the comrades to become full members although a few may be put on probation a little longer and others may have their eligibility cancelled. It is wrong to accept everybody as full members without going through a process of education and examination.

12986/12859
CSO: 4005/874

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

UNITS CONDUCT REVIEW OF PARTY RECTIFICATION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 May 86 p 4

[Article by XINHUA Reporter Wang Biao [3769 1753]: "Solve Remaining Problems; Consolidate Results of Party Rectification; Zhengzhou City CPC Committee Organizes the Consolidated Units to Conduct 'Reviews'"]

[Text] Henan's Zhengzhou City participated in the rectification work of the first and second party rectification units which came to a conclusion around New Year's Day. In mid-January Zhengzhou CPC committee organized a "review" among the 450 units that had already undergone party rectification to consolidate the results of the rectification. This has positive effects on rectifying the party style.

The consolidated units in Zhengzhou abided by the city party committee's plan and each according to its own practical situation took charge of the "investigation and survey of the 7 issues": 1) Investigate whether the unhealthy practices have stopped, and survey the condition of party workstyle. 2) Investigate the internal problems of the leading groups, especially the problem of unity within the groups, and survey the improvements achieved by party rectifications. 3) Investigate the problem of errors being committed during and after rectification, and survey the effectiveness of rectification and reform programs. 4) Investigate whether cadres' workstyles have improved and survey how firmly established is their conviction to serve the people. 5) Investigate the bureaucratic style of the leading cadres and see if they are still making indiscreet remarks arrogantly. 6) Investigate incidents of embezzlement, and see if individuals are taking and keeping public properties. 7) Investigate the proper handling of major and crucial crimes and serious violations of law and order, and see if investigations and handling are done according to party discipline and national laws. The units investigated and surveyed these 7 areas to expose any remaining problems or new problems. They launched conscientious criticism and self-criticism and launched thorough reform and rectification.

In conducting these "reviews" the units did not begin with individuals but concentrated on the leading groups instead. The Zhengzhou City CPC Committee took the initiative and began with itself. The "10 Provisions Pertaining to the Rectification of the Workstyle of the Standing Committee of the City Party Committee" was promulgated in mid-January and disclosed publicly at the "review" meeting, launching a city-wide effort to investigate problems in the

leading groups of the city party committee and the city government. A couple of years ago the city party committee and the city government purchased several small imported luxury cars, during the "review" leading comrades of the city party committee initiated a study and decided to give the cars to some old retired comrades and to the reception offices. Leading members of the city party committee and the city government also complied with the people's requests and suggestions and focused on the investigation of bureaucratic styles, and established firmly the ideology of serving the people, serving the subordinates, the grass-roots and the reform.

The Zhengzhou City CPC Committee spearheaded the "review" and investigated problems within itself and took the initiative to improve its own workstyle. It effectively led the units affiliated with the departments directly under the city in their "investigation and survey" activities. Some unit's party committees or party organizations took the initiative to make personal visits or invite visitors and solicit ideas from the people. They concentrated on solving the major problems among the leading groups. During the "review" the city's No 2 Light Industry Bureau focused on lessons to thoroughly negate the "cultural revolution" and re-study the relevant documents of the party Central Committee to improve ideology and understanding, and eliminated the concept of "right party verses wrong party" and improved unity. Zhengzhou's electric cable, textile machinery plants and other key-point enterprises are involved heavily in the export trade, their leading cadres make frequent trips abroad, and when the staff and workers have suggestions, they often find that "the plant managers travel around the world, the workers stand around the work-platform." As a result of the "review" these two plants have restricted personnel overseas travels according to national regulations, and all gifts from foreign guests are turned over to the higher authorities. Compared with the same period last year the number of units and individuals requesting travel permission from the city has decreased by half in the first quarter of this year.

During the "review" the units which have already completed rectification integrated reality, grasped the vital points, stopped the unhealthy tendencies and established healthy trends. Many cadres and the public agreed that "the city party committee has done well and if they keep it up there is hope for improvements in party style."

12986/12859
CSO: 4005/771

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

WAYS TO IMPROVE PARTY SPIRIT EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 86 p 5

/Article by the Municipal Party Committee of Yueyang, Hunan: "Insist on Paying Attention to Party Spirit Education. Consolidate and Develop the Results of Party Rectification"/

/Text/ The municipal and county organs of Yueyang have obtained definite results of the party rectification campaign. However, after the campaign, some units have not implemented the reforms that were formulated while in other units, new unhealthy tendencies have emerged although old ones have been rectified. Some units even committed new errors while the rectification process was going on. Our analysis reveals that basically, the reason for such developments is that the objective of serving the people has not been firmly established. During the second half of last year, at the same time while municipal and county organs were concluding party rectification work, we have also insisted on carrying out party spirit education, thereby effectively consolidating and developing the results of party rectification.

Make Party Spirit Education Concrete By Linking it with Reality

With the expansion of party rectification in the districts and townships (towns) in the rural areas, there are many problems which involve the municipal and county departments and party members and cadres concerned. The masses have some opinions regarding the work style of municipal and county organs and leading cadres. In the "review" part of party rectification, we have organized the broad masses of party members, especially the leading cadres, to study seriously the "Regulations and Principles" and educated them to become honest in performing their official duties. Municipal and county leaders went down to the townships and took the lead in curbing the practice of feasting, insisting that they should not receive any special treatment. In the spring, the original local party committee bought some fish from a fishery in Xiangyang. The fishery secretly provided a 4,000 yuan subsidy; when the party committee discovered this, it immediately deducted this amount from the cadre's wages and repaid the fishery. In half a year, organs directly under the Yueyang county have, for more than 600 times, refused to accept 10,550 yuan in cash, and more than 1,700 gifts, worth 12,600 yuan. The masses praised them and said, "Party rectification has led to a good trend."

Early this year, with the approval of the State Council, the local and municipal organs are merged. In order to guarantee the smooth progress of this combined work, we have carried out in earnest party spirit education for the whole city. We demanded that all party members and cadres of the organs directly under the city stood fast at their posts and followed discipline strictly. They should not use opportunities to promote cadres recklessly or privately divide up public funds and articles. The municipal and standing committees should first do what they demand of party committees at all levels. On the matter of personnel, the standing committee closely adhered to the criteria of four modernizations and, in only a month's time, succeeded in organizing the teams for the city's 72 departments, offices, committees and bureaus. In the process of merging or dismantling organs, we have not yet discovered the practice of dividing up or squandering away public funds in any of these organs.

Use Models To Animate Party Spirit Education

In the expansion of the reforms and the strengthening of the construction of the two civilizations, many advanced individuals and units have emerged. In order to establish the correct atmosphere and encourage the people, we set up in the city 12 "four haves" (have ideals, morality, civilization and discipline) models and a "two civilizations" advanced unit, sending them out to tour and report to the municipal and county organs. The counties have also set up 139 of their own models. Thus, from top to bottom, those with ideals could talk about their ideals, those obeying discipline about discipline, those with the correct party spirit about party spirit, and those who forgot themselves in their work about dedication. A strong atmosphere of learning from the advanced elements has been created. At the same time, municipal and county organs held meetings of party members and cadres to publicly deal with party members who have seriously violated party discipline. Examples of typical cases were duplicated and distributed to all units and party members were organized to discuss and learn from them.

In using models to carry out party spirit education, party members of municipal and county organs watched and listened to videotapes and recordings of Qu Xiao /2575 0876/, Zhu Boru /2612 0130 0320/, Ma Shengli /7546 5168 0448/ and the People's Liberation Army Outstanding Models Lecture Group. At the same time, the city selected 217 advanced units, honored 6,146 advanced workers, and took note of the accomplishments of more than 1,000 people. Many comrades learned from the advanced elements, paid attention to action, combining ideals and practicality, and, starting with themselves, worked hard to complete the tasks of their posts and really do something for the masses.

Through writing and editing, we also learned about the heroic deeds of local revolutionary heroes. We invited old army veterans to talk about tradition, and we conducted party induction and swearing in ceremonies in front of graves of martyrs. We planted trees and learned from the fine traditions of revolutionaries of the older generation and the self-sacrificing spirit of contemporary models, thereby arousing the sense of responsibility to serve the people and the communist enterprise among the broad masses of party members and cadres.

Routinize Party Spirit Education By Highlighting the Main Points

We realize that in order to eradicate the corruption in our contingents and strengthen the ability of party members and cadres to resist corrupting influences, we must pay constant attention to party spirit education.

Last year, it was popular for some municipal and county department to purchase small automobiles and use public funds for tours. We organized the units to study related documents and educated the broad masses of party members to inherit and expand on the tradition of relentless struggle. Original leading local and municipal comrades led the way in serious self-criticism and solemnly criticized several party members engaged in unhealthy tendencies. All the units organized special bodies to carry out a full-scale "cleaning," and formulated specific regulations regarding the purchase of small automobiles, tours and receptions. Our party members and leading cadres went down to the basic levels to work, considering it to be the central link in the building of party spirit. The party rectification office of the municipal party committee summed up and popularized Yueyang County party committee's experience in really changing their style and working hard for the people. It called upon the leading cadres of all levels to learn from them. Based on incomplete data, since early spring, 74 of the 106 members of the municipal and county standing committees have constantly gone down to the villages and plants, conducting 966 investigative meetings, and visiting 3,654 people. The municipal committee has also transferred more than 1,100 party members from municipal and county organs to the basic levels to join in party rectification, requiring them to pay attention both to party rectification and to helping the local people become rich.

Systematize Party Spirit Education Through the Adoption of Measures

To pay constant attention to party spirit education and consolidate and develop the results of party rectification requires the guarantee of strict rules and regulations. We have focused on establishing and improving such regulations. First, we insisted on theoretical studies. Municipal and county party committees have generally improved the regulations for theoretical studies and have basically set up the "four haves": to have specific arrangements, time, supplement training and evaluation and examination. Second, we made party life more rigorous. We ruled that there should be a party branch committee meeting every month, a party branch meeting every 2 months, and a party democratic life meeting every season. Leading cadres at all levels should, as ordinary party members, live an organizational life. Further, it was stipulated that the municipal party committee should organize a department to examine and read the life and meeting records of party organs above the county and league levels, while the municipal and county party committees would do the same for records of the party branches. According to the real situation revealed by party organ committees, the percentage of units with healthy organizational life have increased from 15 percent to 70 percent, and the phenomenon of a long-term lack of organizational life has been basically eradicated. Third, we should earnestly change our leadership style. The municipal and county party committees and some of the municipal and county departments have formulated regulations for improving the leadership style, demanding that cadres at all levels should strictly follow the rules and regulations in hiring cadres and workers and the enrollment of students as well as in job transfers thereby strengthening organization and discipline and served the people wholeheartedly.

SOUTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

REDI ON REFORM OF XIZANG'S ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Lhasa XIZANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jun 86 pp 1,4

[Speech by Redi [3583 0966] on 20 Jun 1986 at a Meeting Held by the Regional Party Committee To Report on the Situation of Structural Reform in the Region]

[Text] Comrades:

Comrade Dan Zeng [0030 1073] has reported on the reform of the organs directly under the region. His description is very clear and I entirely agree with it.

Since the enlarged meeting of the standing committee of the regional party committee, especially recently, a great deal of work has been done in the organizational structure reform which is now making smooth progress with the support of most cadres and people. However, it has also encountered disruptions and resistance. Comrade Dan Zeng has already talked about the manifestations of these disruptions and resistance, and now, I will present my views on the following four problems:

I. Inadequate Understanding, Incorrect Views on the Reform of Organizational Structure

1. Being overly critical. Since the beginning of this reform, particularly in the recent period, some people have made sarcastic remarks, vented their rage, and spread wild rumors, claiming that the situation in Xizang was originally stable and that the reform and its setbacks have confused the people and brought about chaos.

2. Unfounded rumors. Some people said that many Han cadres will be transferred to the hinterland during this reform. These people even tried to figure out the conditions for the transfer of cadres and workers, their proportions and their destinations. They also said that if Xizang wants to transfer its people to the hinterland, no inland province would accept them. Others speculated that the new policies would reduce the retirement benefits for the old cadres with cuts in this and that expenditure; and that some cadres would be retired or transferred. These unfounded fabrications inspired fear among the people.

3. Passively waiting. Some people who are seriously lacking in work dedication or sense of responsibility would simply wait passively for the reform program to be publicized. There seems to be something abnormal at all levels: the Han comrades want to be transferred inland, the Zhuang comrades want to move upward, the old ones want to retire, and the young ones are apathetic. Therefore, many units and departments are only working passively. They need a push from above to make each move, or their work would remain at a standstill. Instead of taking the initiative in planning new prospects for their own units, some leading comrades even neglect their routine work or, worse still, may pour cold water on those comrades who are actively performing their duties. In some units, the leading comrades are late coming on and early going off duty. Even though in office, they would only spend their time over a glass of boiled water or a newspaper. Some of them would find every way to circulate grapevine news and spread pessimism.

4. Being hasty for success. Some comrades expect the reform program to appear very soon. They said: Reforming the organizational structure should not be difficult. What needs to be done is to abolish some units, merge others, conduct some discussions and then make some announcements. This line of thinking is understandable, because we too want quick success. However, reform of organizational structure is very complicated and requires a great deal of meticulous investigations and study. With the possession of firsthand materials as a prerequisite, we must conduct repeated confirmations and comparisons, and solicit comments from various quarters. For reforming the organizations directly under the province alone, the reform program has been drafted nine times and discussed scores of times. Following the program's appearance, it will still be necessary for investigations to be conducted, cadres to be assigned and the corresponding policies to be formulated. The comrades of the staff office of organizational structure reform have worked painstakingly with good results. We have to be cautious now for the sake of future stability, and to be slow now for greater future speed. This reform is an important event with its impact on the overall situation. If we act blindly regardless of the subjective and objective conditions, we may proceed rapidly but not steadily and may finally come to grief. That is why we should proceed actively and steadily.

II. Main Causes of these Problems

Why should there be so many "red lights" before the appearance of this reform program? As we understand, the following are the four main causes:

First, some leading comrades, though favoring the reform, are afraid of it. People have basically identical views on the huge organizational structure, the surplus personnel at the higher levels, and the administrative organs which are not suitable for the economic base. To develop Xizang's productive forces and to invigorate its economy so that people may become well-to-do as soon as possible, the reform must be carried out. People also have basically identical views on this point. However, some departments in charge and their leaders are accustomed to the idea of having a complete setup which can get along with the higher levels and compare favorably with others at the same level. Once their ideal setup is shattered, they will be helpless with their

methods of leadership and their work style. That is why they do not want reform or are even afraid of it.

Second, through the reform of the organizational structure, we must implement the central authorities' policy in light of Xizang's realities concerning the need for revolutionary, young, well-educated, and professionally competent cadres, select a number of young and middle-age cadres having both ability and political integrity, encourage cooperation between the old and the new cadres, replace the old with the new, and thus strengthen the leading bodies as well as the cadres' ranks. Reorganization of the leading bodies at various levels would naturally affect some people's personal interests, and that was why these people complained, raved, and abandon their jobs.

Third, individualism is serious. Some comrades seem to have forgotten that they are CPC members and the party's leading cadres. Their organization concept is weak and in the pursuit of fame and interests, they place themselves above all things. In taking care of the interests of Xizang and the people, they seemed to be suffering from poliomyelitis, feeling neither pain nor itch. However, they are most concerned for their own interests and may all the time ponder the question of remaining or quitting regardless of the overall situation. They give no thought to work or their leadership and simply run around to do something for their own future.

Fourth, ideological-political work is weak. People now have different attitudes toward the reform of the organizational structure and interpret it in different ways. Some of our leading comrades have done nothing to check the words and deeds that are harmful to the reform. They neither publicize the reform nor explain what it is about. Practice has shown that wherever the leading cadres have a strong party spirit and a proper work style, the ideological-political work is proceeding vigorously, the organization is functioning properly, the morale of cadres and workers is stable, and complaints are rare or unheard of. If the reverse is the case, the work is chaotic, the people are ill at ease, and rumors are rife.

III. Attitude and Determination of Regional Party Committee toward Organizational Structure Reform

Comrade Xiaoping said: "This reform is China's second revolution." This is in fact exactly what it is. The purpose of reform has always been to overcome difficulties and obstacles, and this is specially true of the reform of organizational structure in Xizang, a special national minority region. If we want to take bold steps in exploring a new path that is compatible with the realities in Xizang, there is, on the one hand, no successful precedent for us to follow, and, on the other hand, a very powerful influence from old habits. It is doubtlessly difficult to replace the old model with a new one. Reform provides the only road for Xizang, and we have both the courage and ability to take it. At the enlarged meeting of the standing committee of the regional party committee held last year, a resolution was adopted for "a simpler and better organizational structure, the reorganization of leading bodies, the improvement and perfection of the cadre system and the relevant policies, and the coordination of these three tasks." This resolution is now being carried out, and we will continue this job unwaveringly under leadership and in an

organized and systematic way. In so doing, we must have self-confidence and the courage of meeting unexpected changes. Our will to innovate and pioneer must not be weakened in the face of obstacles.

Our guideline and principle for this reform is to gradually change the old administrative system which has existed in the region for many years, strengthen the key units at the basic levels, have fewer but better administrators at the higher levels, reduce the intermediate links with some changes in their functions, overcome bureaucratism, streamline the relationships among different administrative organs, and form new organs which will have distinctive duties and responsibilities, well coordinated functions and high efficiency. In designing the framework of the organs directly under the region, we must proceed from the region's realities and capabilities and should not stress the need for "getting along with the higher levels and comparing favorably with others at the same level." We must bear in mind the principle that the organs should be broadly versatile instead of narrowly specialized and that the personnel should be fewer but better when we carry out the reform on a larger scale.

As for the specific way for the reform, we must firmly uphold the principle of "unified understanding, firm determination, steady steps, detailed plans and meticulous work."

In the formulation of policies, we must follow the principle of "promoting national unity, reassuring the people, stabilizing the situation, giving consideration to the majority, importing skilled personnel, retaining the backbone elements, speeding up the work of retirement, and ensuring the smooth progress of the reform of the organizational structure" in order to avoid unnecessary reversals or ups and downs.

IV. Hopes, Demands

The reform of the organizational structure in the region is being carried out at a time when the tasks are heavy, the demands high, the foundation weak, the difficulties and opposition enormous, and the people of various nationalities are in the process of opening new prospects for Xizang. Therefore, it is hoped that all communist party members and particularly the leading cadres at various levels should carry out this reform with higher political consciousness and stronger party spirit. They should take the overall situation into account and have the cardinal principles in mind, place the cause of the party and the interests of the people of Xizang above all things, work together in harmony, struggle in unity and carefully attend to the following four tasks:

First, strengthen ideological-political work and further rectify the ideological line. Reform stirs people's ideas, but can also cause complex contradictions and ideological wavering. This is normal in a certain sense, but the problem is that if we simply take a laissez-faire attitude, these contradictions and wavering may obstruct the smooth progress of the reform. Therefore, one of the important tasks for us at present is to step up ideological education, unify our understanding, and sweep away the ideological hurdles. We must start this task from inside the party. The party

organizations at all levels must attach great importance to normal organizational life and use the party days to organize all party members to study the General Program of the Party Constitution and the series of important directives issued by the central leadership concerning this reform. Through study, they will truly realize that "forming the party for public interests" is the party's cardinal principle; that serving the people wholeheartedly is the party's basic policy; and that this reform is the trend of the times, a historical necessity, and a requirement for Xizang's prosperity. Then they will actively support and participate in the reform. On this basis, we should conduct in-depth discussions on such questions as "What is the significance of this reform?" "Should this reform be carried out in Xizang or not?" And "what approach and mental attitude should we take toward this reform?" In light of the problems existing in their units or among themselves, they will then properly conduct criticism and self-criticism, distinguish between right and wrong, commend the advanced elements, and criticize whatever mistakes they may discover. This will enable the broad masses of party members to acquire a stronger and purer party spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly, being responsible to the party in all matters, and making new contributions to the wealth and happiness of Xizang's people. All party members, especially the party's leading cadres, must set good examples for others, and practise whatever they advocate. They must first set examples for others at the same level so that each level will serve as an inspiration to other levels. As long as this practice is faithfully carried out, it will not be difficult to solve the problems. Some comrade may say: "What you are talking about are all major principles." He is right. Major principles must at all times govern minor principles and minor principles must be subordinated to, and reside among major principles. Why was there some ideological confusion at the earlier stage? One of the important reasons was that there was not enough publicity work, major principles were not emphasized, and ideological-political work was weak. Therefore, party members at all levels must assert themselves in stressing principles and refuting rumors. Reform is a complex process and people's understanding of it is also a gradual process of proceeding from the easy to the difficult. As long as our ideological-political work is thoroughly carried out and the principles are clearly understood, then, along with the step-by-step appearance of the reform program, the obstacles in our way, the confused ideas, and the incorrect views will be gradually reduced and a spectacle of unity in struggle will prevail.

Second, the party organizations at all levels must strictly enforce the system of job responsibility. All units and departments must set up their own job responsibility system during party rectification.

Shortly after his arrival at Xizang, Comrade Jing Hua [4737 5478] called on everyone to "guard his own post, do his own job, fulfill his own responsibility, and carry out his own innovations." These remarks were repeated at the enlarged meeting of the standing committee of the regional party committee. This clearly shows the important need for everyone to stick to his own post and to work creatively. The basic goal of the reform of our organizational structure is to raise work efficiency, to develop the productive forces and to invigorate Xizang's economy. If we are scared and demoralized at the very mention of reform and then relax our efforts in work,

how can there be any raising of work efficiency to speak of? I hope our comrades will pluck up their courage and work steadfastly and creatively in the years of reform. All units must carefully examine the way in which the job responsibility system is enforced, correct the shortcomings, and make up for the lost time. They must stay at their posts in the best spirit in order to promote the reform, and ensure its success through their outstanding performances.

Third, discipline must be strictly observed. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "If the sense of discipline is heightened, the revolution will be for ever triumphant." This sense of discipline is even more necessary when the reform of the organization structure is carried out under extraordinary historical conditions in our region. Strict observance of discipline is an important guarantee of the party's fighting strength. For such observance, we must now refrain from creating or circulating rumors and take the initiative in refuting rumors. We must not listen to, believe in or pass around the grapevine news coming from various quarters. We must constantly report to the party organizations on the state of our mind and promptly bring to their attention the problems around us. When the reform program has been publicized, we must bear in mind the reform as a matter of paramount importance and make appropriate decisions on remaining or retiring. The organization's decision, once made, must be unconditionally complied with, and the requests for favor, claims of personal connections, backdoor dealings, creating troubles, and other acts in disregard of organizational discipline will not be permitted. When some organizations are closed down or merged, we must willingly place the interests of the overall situation and the people above all things. The private sharing or unauthorized disposal of state property, the indiscriminate payment of bonuses in cash or in kind, the distribution of souvenirs, the use of public funds for entertaining guests, sending gifts, drinking and dining lavishly, and other forms of luxury are strictly forbidden. This discipline provides the guarantee for the success of the reform and must be observed and acted on in an exemplary manner, failing which, punishments will be meted out according to the merits of the cases.

Fourth, at the enlarged meeting of the standing committee of the regional party committee held last year, it was pointed out that this will be the year of real action for our region. During this year, we must perform some really "visible and tangible" tasks. Now that the year is half gone, the party organizations must carefully review and sum up their experiences in the first half year. We must investigate and see if these tasks have actually been carried out, and try to find out about the current way of thinking among the cadres and workers in our units and our departments. Then we should take some purposeful measures to lay a solid ideological foundation for the work in the second half year. The cadres and workers must be organized to "recognize once again" the urgency and importance of the reform of the region's organizational structure so that they can be ideologically aware of the need for this reform. It will also be possible to find out how the attitudes of the cadres and workers are toward this reform. With unified thinking thus achieved, people at all levels will be concerned for and devoted to the reform resulting in "bumper harvests" for both the reform and our work. The leading cadres should turn around and see if they are really standing at the forefront of this reform; how the tasks of their own units or departments planned in the first

half year have been fulfilled; and whether the leading bodies are concentrating their efforts on their work in opening up new prospects. Through these reviews and summation of experiences, they will be able to uncover problems, enhance their understanding, renew their vigor and improve their work in a practical way in order to create a stable social environment and a normal work order for the reform. This is the bounden duty of each and every cadre and party member, particularly the leading cadres of the party.

Comrades, the reform of the organizational structure is one of the important aspects of the implementation of the series of important directives from the Party Central Committee concerning Xizang. We firmly believe that with the kind solicitude of the party Central Committee and through the efforts of the cadres and people, we can certainly achieve gratifying success.

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SOUTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

GUIZHOU PARTY SECRETARY COMMENTS ON YOUNG CADRES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 86 p 5

[Article by Shu Yu [5289 3842]: "Learn While We Explore And Practice: Hu Jintao, Guizhou Provincial Party Committee Secretary Discussed the Maturing of Young And Middle-aged Cadres"]

[Text] Hu Jintao [5170 6930 3447], Guizhou's Provincial Party Committee Secretary, is a busy man indeed; just a few days before this interview he was still on the mountain roads in southern Guizhou.

Hu Jintao is 43 years old. He is the youngest provincial party secretary today. Recently in his small, simple office he talked with enthusiasm about Guizhou's prospects, and he talked about the maturing of the young and middle-aged cadres.

"History has pushed many young and middle-aged cadres to center stage. There are new tasks and new problems and the people are putting more of their hopes in the young and middle-aged cadres." The former first secretary of the party Central Committee of the Communist Youth League raised his eyebrows as he got to the subject right away. "Most young and middle-aged cadres are career-minded and fully conscious of their responsibilities. They work hard and make sacrifices for the nation's four modernizations and for the people. These cadres are certainly not perfect, they share a common weakness, they are inexperienced. Some used to be leaders in a plant, now they lead a bureau or a department. Some were transferred from one system to another. Under different work conditions and service objectives, ideology and concepts and work methods must change drastically. Take my own experience as an example, I used to work with the Communist Youth League and worked mostly with young people. Now as the provincial party secretary, I have to deal with all kinds of issues and all kinds of people, from ideology to economic constructions and from production to the people's daily lives. In order to adapt to the new conditions we have to learn and explore and practice at the same time. I think all young and middle-aged cadres share the same problem of being trained on the job and trying to improve by practice."

Hu was full of excitement as he cited the many examples of the conscientious endeavors and achievements of the young and middle-aged cadres in the province. He continued to say that "young and middle-aged cadres must have good work-style, speak honestly and act practically and emphasize results. They must

rely heavily on penetrating the grass-roots and learn the realities of life. If they spent all their energy on 'making the big scene' or socializing, if they are superficial and impractical, eager for quick success and instant benefits, they will soon become 'arrogant and spoiled' and soon go astray." He spoke with frankness and sincerity. I understand that ever since last July when he became party secretary, one-third of his time was spent "immersed" in the "lower level." He has inspected more than 60 of the 81 counties and cities in the province.

"We hear that some young and middle-aged cadres become rude and arrogant after their promotions and the people are complaining. Are there such incidents in Guizhou?" I asked. Comrade Jintao replied: "Those incidents are rare but they do remind us that it is vital to reinforce training in party spirit and nurture one's own ideology and understanding. If the young and middle-aged cadres cannot set an example, if they are not modest and cautious, the people will not respect their judgement. The young and middle-aged cadres should be supervised by the people and their ideology and workstyle should also be supervised by the people."

In talking about the internal conflicts of the party, Comrade Jintao said: "This is an important lesson for the young and middle-aged cadres. In the past these cadres were not in the leadership positions and rarely did they encounter major problems. Now that they are in charge, and all of a sudden faced with many conflicts, what should they do? Personally I think they should insist on principles and unity. They must struggle against unhealthy tendencies and against all things that are wrong. Their ideological work should be detailed but lively; they must act with compassion and enlighten with reason. Any attempt to solve problems simplistically or solve all problems in one step is unrealistic. Another point that needs to be emphasized is that we must not allow those who do not believe in reforms to harm those who dare to make changes. A leader must protect bravely and support warmly those reformers who are creative and enterprising. Some people keep themselves out of the revolutionary current, they stand back to criticize and make indiscreet remarks. They never do anything but always pick on others. We must not indulge these people, they need to be criticized."

Finally I asked for his comments on Lee Xiangnan, the character in the TV series "Xin Xing" [The New Star]. He pondered for a minute and said:

"Lee Xiangnan is a bold reformer and explorer, he reflects the sentiments of the people and therefore he is immensely popular. Nevertheless he is just a fictional character and an artistic creation and it would be inappropriate to try to imitate him in real life. Here two issues are involved: first is the relationship between an individual and the collective: Should a person place himself in the collective or should he place himself above the collective? I think we should rely on the wisdom and the strength of the collective to make the right decisions. It is difficult for a single person to win all the battles. Secondly, we must overcome resistance but also avoid resistance. It is difficult to imagine a successful reform when we only overcome obstacles without knowing how to avoid them or without knowing how to unite those who basically support reforms, or rally those who have doubts about reforms. Reform is everybody's job. Reform is not provoking confrontation but building a strong contingent. Don't you agree?" I have been enlightened again.

SOUTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

CONFERENCE ON VILLAGE-LEVEL PARTY CONSOLIDATION HELD

Guiyang GUIZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jun 86 p 1

[Text] The provincial CPC committee held a conference on village-level rural party consolidation work on 29-31 May, to make arrangements for party consolidation at the village level.

The conference was attended by comrades responsible for party consolidation work from various prefectural, autonomous prefectural (municipal) and county party committees and responsible persons of departments concerned. Hu Jintao [5170 6930 3447], secretary, and Long Zhiyi [7893 1807 3015], standing committee member and organization department director, of the provincial CPC committee, spoke at the opening session. At the closing session, Ding Tingmo [0002 1694 2875], deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, gave a talk on the questions of party consolidation inspection and acceptance tests at the district and township levels, how to do a good job in village-level party consolidation and how to consolidate and develop the results of party consolidation.

The meeting stressed the great significance of village-level party consolidation and spelled out the basic tasks and requirements of party consolidation at this level. The general requirement is to maintain a high standard and quality of work in carrying out the tasks of achieving ideological unity, rectifying the party's work style, strengthening discipline and purifying the party organization according to the guidelines of the CPC Central Committee's decision on party consolidation and the Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation's "circular on rural party consolidation planning." In the light of the realities in the rural areas in the province, it is necessary to pay special attention to strengthening the leading bodies and increase the fighting capacity of the party branches; do a good job in party members' education, strengthen their communist belief and improve their ideological and political quality; and deal seriously with the problem of party members and particularly party-member cadres seriously violating the law and discipline and using their power to seek personal gain. Efforts should be made to accelerate the smooth progress of rural reform to increase income and get rich. In the course of party consolidation, first priority should be given to educating party members on the current situation and policies, ideals and purposes; attention should be paid to strengthening the rural party branches as they hold the key to party consolidation; attention should also be paid to dealing with serious cases of party-member cadres violating the law and

discipline and using their power to seek personal gain, as this is crucial to rectifying the party's work style; and it is necessary to continue to implement the party Central Committee's series of principles and policies on rural reform, increase peasants' income, help them get rich and develop the economy, as this is the basic objective of rural party consolidation.

The meeting also clearly defined the steps and methods of rural party consolidation. First of all, it is necessary to do a good job in the following preparatory work: 1) Conduct thoroughgoing investigation and study, clearly understand the situation, pinpoint the problems and draw up a well-conceived party consolidation plan. 2) Readjust or reelect the party branches which are problem-ridden, organizationally unhealthy and paralyzed or semiparalyzed. 3) Give training to township party committee secretaries, village party branch secretaries and party-member cadres who will take part in village-level party consolidation. 4) Get teaching materials ready for party classes in the light of the actual situation. 5) In places where there are economic problems and problems left over from the "cultural revolution," work should be started earlier.

Village-level rural party consolidation in the province will, in principle, be carried out in two groups, one following the rush-harvesting and rush-planting period and the other following the autumn harvesting, plowing and sowing period. Each group will take about 2 months to complete, with no less than 20 days devoted exclusively to party consolidation. Each locality should make arrangements according to local conditions. Village-level party consolidation is divided roughly into three stages. First, the study and education stage. Second, the comparison, examination, summing up and improvement stage. In the latter part of this stage, party members should be mobilized to draw up "four plans," namely, a plan for collective effort to increase income and get rich, a plan for party members to take the lead in getting rich and helping the poor, a plan for building civilized villages and a plan for improving the system of party life and changing cadres' work style. Third, the stage of organizational measures and registration of party members. Only after all issues are properly handled, should each party organization begin registration of party members. To insure the quality of village-level party consolidation work, there should be a summing up at the end of the first and second stages, and an overall summing up, inspection and acceptance tests at the conclusion of the third stage.

The meeting stressed the need to strengthen leadership over village-level party consolidation. County party committees should exercise overall leadership, and county secretaries should attend to the work personally. Periodic studies should be made on party consolidation work, and problems should be solved promptly when discovered. District and township party committee secretaries are directly in charge. Prefectural, autonomous prefectural and municipal party committees should send liaison and inspector groups to the counties. Each county, district and township should, in principle, send one official state cadre, who is also a party member, to each village party branch as a party consolidation liaison man to keep abreast of the situation and give help and guidance. When consolidation work is finished, the county, district and township party committees should each send an acceptance group to carry out acceptance tests and report on their findings. Party consolidation in urban

neighborhoods should be arranged by county and municipal (district or special district) party committees and, in principle, following the same guidelines as mentioned previously.

Reporting on the acceptance tests conducted for consolidation work at the district and township levels, Comrade Ding Tingmo said: On the whole, party consolidation at the district and township levels is successful, but there are a few units that have not done a good job because they have worked in a perfunctory way. At present, three things must be done with regard to party consolidation at the district and township levels. First, the prefectural and county party committees should examine the results of party consolidation at the district and township levels before village-level consolidation gets fully under way, and remedial measures should be taken with party organizations which have indeed worked in a perfunctory way. Second, examination should focus mainly on the major problems involving district and township gain and violation of the law and discipline. Based on thorough investigations, these cases should be dealt with seriously. Those who should be dismissed must be dismissed; those who should be expelled from the party must be expelled from the party; and those who should be punished according to law must be punished according to law. Third, district and township leading bodies should be strengthened, based on the results of the examination. The findings of the examination in each locality should be reported to the provincial CPC committee's party consolidation guidance group. On village-level party consolidation, he said: In village-level party consolidation, emphasis should be placed on the following: 1) To insure the high standard and quality of work, the requirements of village-level party consolidation must be made clear. 2) It is necessary to adhere to the principle that party consolidation must help promote and insure the success of reform and economic development. 3) It is necessary to adhere to the principle of education and guidance, put the stress on positive education and aim at raising party members' ideological and political consciousness. On consolidating and developing the results of party consolidation, he said: Provincial, prefectural, county, district, township, enterprise, establishment and other units must all pay attention to consolidating and developing the achievements of party consolidation. On the one hand it is necessary to consolidate the results already achieved in party consolidation, and not allow old problems to recur. On the other hand, it is necessary to make a serious effort to solve the problems which have not been solved during party consolidation and problems referred back from party consolidation at the grassroots level. At present, attention should be focused on the following problems: investigation and handling of major cases, rectification of unhealthy trends in some trades, education on strengthening discipline, improving the system of inner-party democracy. Responsible comrades of party committees at all levels should personally see to it that the achievements of party consolidation are consolidated and developed. Discipline inspection commissions at all levels and various departments within the party should make joint efforts to consolidate and develop the achievements of party consolidation.

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NORTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

HEBEI PARTY SECRETARY'S OPEN SELF-CRITICISM REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jul 86 p 4

/Article by Jiang Shan /3068 1472/: "Leaders in Hebei Encourage the Free Airing of Views and Heed the Wishes of the Masses; Xing Chongzhi Leads the Way in Open Self-criticism"/

/Text/ To encourage the free airing of views and to pay attention to the wishes of the masses has become a prominent feature in the change of work style on the part of the leaders in Hebei's party committee and provincial government since the beginning of party rectification. They stress the development of the spirit of seeking truth from facts and socialist democracy and once they discover any problems, difficulties or errors in their work, they immediately try to resolve them seriously.

In order to make the cadres and masses dare to speak the truth and make suggestions, leaders should possess the spirit of self-criticism. In this regard, Xing Chongzhi /6717 1504 2535/, the provincial party secretary, has set an example. People will not forget one of the things he did at the beginning of party rectification in the provincial organs. During the second meeting to exchange experiences in party rectification in the provincial organs, Xing Chongzhi, who was responsible in guiding Hebei's party rectification, criticized by name the provincial Bureau of Seismology for unsatisfactory work in party rectification. However, he realized soon afterwards that he had made mistakes in his criticism of the Bureau of Seismology. Subsequently, he specially sent comrades from the provincial party rectification office to that unit to investigate. Then, Xing Chongzhi wrote a letter to the party unit at the bureau, examining the 3 inaccuracies in his criticism. He wrote in his letter, "To be a leader and criticize a unit in such a mass meeting without careful checking is not prudent, especially when it took place in the midst of party rectification. This shows that I have the problem of bureaucraticism and I should criticize myself." Later, according to his wishes, this letter was circulated among the party members of the Bureau of Seismology and was even published in the "Party Rectification Bulletin," edited and published by the provincial party committee party rectification office. This action on the part of the leader of Hebei's party committee in leading the way in open self-criticism and speaking the truth has stimulated the growth of the democratic atmosphere.

These measures have helped the provincial leaders in understanding comprehensively the real conditions on both sides and in listening to different views so that they can constantly correct the errors in the work of provincial leaders. One day in the second half of May, provincial governor Jie Feng /6043 1496/ received a letter from the people of Shulu County, reporting that although the summer planting season was approaching, the province's seed company did not have corn and other seeds for sale and this might affect the farmers' planting on time. That morning, Jie Feng sent the letter to Kao Heng /7559 1854/, vice secretary of the provincial government and instructed him to take immediate action to solve the problem. The facts reported in the letter were found to be true and it was also discovered that there were similar problems in other areas: there was a shortage of about 7 million kg of corn seeds for the whole province. The following day, the provincial government sent a telegram to all the prefectures, cities and counties, urging them to pay close attention to solving the farmers' problem of the shortage of corn seeds. Several days later, the provincial agricultural department also specifically convened an emergency meeting to further solve the problem of the source of corn seeds, thereby ensuring that the task of planting corn seeds in 30 million mu of land in the province was completed on time.

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NORTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

SOLVING OF GRASSROOTS PROBLEMS AT YANBEI REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 86 p 4

/Article by Dong Shijiu /5516 0013 0036/, Wang Ping /3769 5493/ and Gong Jianqiang /6300 0256 1730/: "Leaders of Yanbei Prefecture Go to the Grassroots Level and Solve More Than 400 Problems on the Spot"/

/Text/ Leaders of Shanxi's Yanbei Prefecture Party Committee and administrative office went to the grassroots level to handle official business and solve problems on the spot, obtaining outstanding results.

Since this year, leaders of the Yanbei Prefecture Party Committee and administrative office realized that with the further development of the reforms, there are many problems at the grassroots level that urgently need to be solved and to simply sit in one's office and lead would not be enough. Consequently, beginning with themselves, they changed their work style and, with the responsible comrades, cadres and technical personnel of their respective departments, went to the grassroots level units in the counties, townships, villages, mines, shops and schools to handle official business and solve on the spot the problems which have emerged with the reforms. In solving these problems, they paid attention to the crux of the matter, focusing on dealing with the difficult problems in the reforms; they stressed the weak links, going to places where leaders have seldom visited in the past to solve problems; and they look for new signs, paying attention to dealing with new situations and problems; they emphasized results, combining the seriousness and flexibility of the policies and solved various practical problems creatively. Based on incomplete data, up to the present, they have resolved more than 400 problems in the reforms, about 90 of which related to agricultural reforms, 280 to commerce and industries, and 50 to education and public health. In the past, the industrial base of Ying County was rather weak, but after several years of reforms, the economic gains of the county's industries and enterprises have increased greatly. But in the new situation in which reforms are constantly expanding, the various enterprises have revealed to different degrees such problems as the weakness in basic facilities, the inadequacy in technical forces and the backwardness in management methods. Li Zhenhua /2621 2182 5478/, secretary of the prefectural party committee, went down to this county and, with the leading comrades of the county party committee and county government, studied and solved these problems. They guided the industries and enterprises to reach for the "top," organize a contact network below, make outside "friends"

and encourage "unions" within so that they could actively develop horizontal linkages with the economy to promote the development of the enterprises. The county's machine plant has successively established contact with certain units in Beijing and Daitong, bringing in 700,000 yuan of investment. They added 25 pieces of new equipment to produce automotive brakes and connecting rods. After inspection by the Shanxi Automotive Industry Co., the connecting rods have been included in the experimental production plan and full-scale production will begin next year, with the company supplying the raw materials and acting as the agent for the product. Thus, the county's plant has entered the provincial system of automotive manufacturing and production.

The handling of official business and solving of problems on the spot by leaders of the prefectural party committee and administrative office have propelled and guaranteed the healthy expansion of the reforms. Since the beginning of this year, most of the small state-run commercial and industrial enterprises in the prefecture have been restructured and reorganized. As some new problems emerge, some enterprises wanted to return to the practice of "eating from one big pot." But the leaders of the prefectural party committee and administrative office promptly went to these enterprises to deal with the problems, to publicize related spirit of the party central committee and the State Council, and to help them in understanding correctly the situation, defining the direction and solving the problems. As a result, they have renewed the confidence in reform and continued to move the reforms forward and giving them new vitality.

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NORTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CADRES STUDY LAW--Shanxi Province emphasizes the popularization of legal knowledge among leading cadres. At present, 222 leading cadres at the department and bureau levels in provincial organs have received Popular Law Graduation Certificates given by the office of Shanxi Popular Law Leading Unit. These cadres account for 71 percent of the total leading cadres at the department and bureau levels in the provincial organs. The popular law short-term training classes for leading cadres at the department and bureau levels of Shanxi began in April of this year and up to the present, three terms have been held. Two hundred and twenty-five leading cadres in the 94 departments and bureaus in the provincial organs have now successively received some education in legal knowledge. Spurred on and influenced by these classes, the movement to popularize and study law among Shanxi's provincial organs have spread. Eighteen units in the provincial organs have begun popular law training in rotation at the section (office) level. /Text/ /Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jul 86
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BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

PLA 'DEEP CONCERN' WITH REFORM VIEWED

OW092019 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin To China 1215 GMT 8 Aug 86

[Excerpts] The PLA commanders and fighters' deep concern over unhealthy practices in economic reform is understandable. Unhealthy practices not only directly affected their morale but also brought undesirable changes to the army's political and ideological outlook. They weakened our soldiers' sense of responsibility, slackened military discipline, appearance, and bearings, and threatened our army's fine traditions. Large numbers of our commanders and fighters strongly resent the unhealthy practices in economic reforms. It is particularly distressing for them to see that in our society bad elements could make fortunes through fraud, speculation, and business deals while hard-working workers and peasants were unable to become well-off. They cannot understand this prevailing phenomenon.

Economic reforms introduced in recent years have brought about all kinds of unhealthy practices. These unhealthy practices have seriously affected the army's political-ideological work. They put great pressures on personnel engaged in political work who were unable to convincingly explain these unhealthy practices to the commanders and fighters. Some of them have doubts themselves about the correctness of some of the reform policies.

Given such circumstances, it is no wonder that soldiers have less sense of responsibility in defending the country and the PLA has poor discipline, appearance, and bearings and is losing its fine traditions. All this shows that rectifying unhealthy practices in economic reforms is a pressing task for the whole party, the whole army, and the people throughout the country.

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TAIWAN

KUOMINTANG OPPOSES RECONCILIATION WITH DANGWAI

Taipei TSULI WANPAO in Chinese 17 Jul 86 p 2

[Article by Li Yongde [2621 3057 1779]: "Outcries in Ruling Party against 'Reconciliation through Negotiation' Intensifying Daily"]

[Text] "The purpose of Dangwai political activities is to undermine the Kuomintang!" Since 10 May, when Dangwai for the first time offered to negotiate for reconciliation, some conservatives in the Kuomintang voiced their opposition with this charge. Along with the development of their opposition, more and more high-level members Kuomintang members have come to believe in the justification of this charge. One Kuomintang decision)maker, who was formerly in favor of the negotiations now openly called some Dangwai members "dissenters" at an internal self)criticism meeting presided over by him.

In fact, the outcries in the Kuomintang against the negotiations are intensifying daily. In discussing the revision of rules of procedure in the Legislative Yuen, the Kuomintang firmly refused to make any concession to any party that is not in office, and the resolution was adopted with an arbitrary vote. This was a concrete expression of the outcries of opposition. However, since the policy of "sincere desire for reconciliation through negotiation" was adopted on the personal instruction of President Chiang of the Kuomintang, the party's decision-makers are still trying every means to make things easier despite strong internal pressure. The Kuomintang's policy of reconciliation will not be changed in the near future especially because President Chiang in yesterday's meeting of the standing committee of the central committee earnestly exhorted all members of the Legislative Yuen to "tolerate for the sake of the country." These words showed his firm stand for unity and harmony.

Nevertheless, the unchanged policy of reconciliation does not mean the absence of conflicts between the two parties. Now most high-level Kuomintang members believe that "the purpose of the Dangwai members' political activities is to undermine the Kuomintang." This purpose was further confirmed by the following extraordinary activities of Dangwai members in the past 2 months.

1. After the Penglai Island scandal, Dangwai members held several "farewell meetings before the imprisonment" of Chen Shuibian [7115 3055 2078], Huang

Tianfu [7806 1131 4395] and Li Yiyang [2621 6654 3152], and some Dangwai members at the meetings shouted "Down with Kuomintang!"

2. After the first round of negotiations, the Kuomintang consented to let Dangwai's Kungcheng [0361 2398] Association open branches on the condition that it "registers" and "removes the word 'Dangwai' from its title." However, the Kungcheng Association neither registered nor removed 'dangwai' from its title and proceeded to set up branches throughout the province. The Kuomintang therefore claims that Dangwai utterly lacks sincerity.

3. During the debates in the revision of the rules of procedure in the Legislative Yuen, five Dangwai legislative members boycotted the deliberations and spoke on the platform by turn trying to obstruct the adoption of the resolution during the session. Some Kuomintang members said with alarm: "Only five Dangwai legislative members are now enough to turn the Yuen topsy-turvy. If there are several more of them and the number of persons to second the motion is reduced, the situation will be terrible!"

4. After much deliberation, Dangwai's Kungcheng Association proposed a "time table for constitutional government," and what caused the Kuomintang the most concern was these items in the time table: "democratic election of president" and "peaceful coexistence of both sides of the strait." Kuomintang members held that Dangwai neither respected the constitution nor recognized the existence of the Kuomintang.

5. The views expressed by some Dangwai magazines became increasingly strident. They even incited such mass activities as "19 May Green Action" and "organizing a march."

6. Some Dangwai members are frequently going abroad. Kuomintang members believe that they are in liaison with overseas Taiwan Independence Movement elements.

Although some Kuomintang members cannot prove that "Dangwai attempts to overthrow the Kuomintang," these Dangwai activities have at least confirmed some Kuomintang conservatives' prediction that "negotiations with Dangwai cannot yield any result." These activities have created some difficulty for the enlightened personages who favor the negotiations. Other than claiming that it is in line with the party president's instruction, they can no long put up any strong defense for this policy. The conservatives have meanwhile gained the upper hand, and an anti-negotiation atmosphere now prevails in the party.

When the opposition to negotiations inside the Kuomintang was at its height, what policy will be adopted by the party? No high-level party member dared to make any predictions. In any case, according to the historical laws and experiences in China, no political power would ever permit a political group to grow strong enough to threaten its existence.

A high-level Kuomintang member said frankly that the party by no means wants to obstruct the growth of any out-of-office force by disregarding the development of a multidimensional society in the country. He believed that if

the people inside and outside the party could come to some basic common understanding based on mutual trust, the party blockade should be lifted in the next few years. However, if the purpose of the Dangwai members' political activities is to overthrow the Kuomintang, then there cannot be nothing to talk about.

However, the Kuomintang's reiterations of sincerity in "tolerance for the sake of the country" failed to gain the Dangwai's trust. Dangwai members felt that if the Kuomintang is sincere, it should not have convicted Huang Tianfu, Chen Shuibian and Li Yiyang through political intervention in judicial proceedings, arrested and convicted Zheng Nanrong [6774 0589 2827], and, more important still, adopted a resolution through arbitrary votes in the Legislative Yuen for the revision of the rules of procedure in disregard of the opinion of the people not in office; all this at a time when negotiations for reconciliation were in progress. They further maintained that if Kuomintang was sincere, it should negotiate for reconciliation on the question of constitutional government instead of demanding Dangwai's submission in such trivial matters as Kungcheng Association's "registration" and "title."

At present, although both parties are expressing their willingness to continue the third round of negotiations, there is nothing left of the foundation of mutual trust! If this situation should continue to deteriorate, it is afraid that it will not only abort the third round of negotiations but also seriously undermine the domestic political situation and the social stability and unity.

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TAIWAN

TAIPEI COMMENTARY VIEWS JET FIGHTER, MISSILE DEVELOPMENT

OW220452 Taipei Domestic Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 20 Jul 86

[Station commentary: "The Development of Defense Technology Leads to the Road of Freedom"]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners! Last week our countrymen were excited by two news reports. One is that Deputy Chief of the General Staff Yeh Chang-tung disclosed on 14 July that a tentative design of an ROC-made defense jet fighter had been completed. Its development is now in full swing. The above remarks were made by Deputy Chief of the General Staff Yeh while reporting on national defense construction to the National Development Seminar. He said: The coming three to five years will be the take-off stage for the ROC to develop high technology.

The other news is that 63 scientists from the Chungshan Institute of Science and Technology were awarded certificates and medals last Friday by Chief of the General Staff Hao Po-chun. These prize winners confirmed to the press that the high-performance jet fighter developed by our countrymen performs better than any model of the ROC's principal jet fighters now in service. The electronic parts of the Sky Bow I missile are also more precise than those of the U.S. Patriot missile.

According to the report by Deputy Chief of the General Staff Yeh Chang-tung to the National Development Seminar, the ROC has successfully developed an air defense weapon--the Sky Bow surface-to-air missile. A test launch in March this year showed that its electronic parts were more precise than those of the U.S. Patriot missile. At the same time, the ROC has completed the tentative design of a jet fighter and the test launch of the Sky Sword air-to-air missile.

In short, the research, development, and production of the above-mentioned weapons indicate that the development of the ROC's defense technology has been steered onto a smooth, self-sufficient path under the common efforts of the rank and file in the Armed Forces and those of the research workers. We should pay our highest respects to them while rejoicing over the good news.

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